



**RENATO
CONSTANTINO**

**NEOCOLONIAL
IDENTITY**

**AND
COUNTER
CONSCIOUSNESS**

ESSAYS ON CULTURAL DECOLONISATION

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NEOCOLONIAL IDENTITY
AND
COUNTER-CONSCIOUSNESS

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NEOCOLONIAL IDENTITY AND COUNTER-CONSCIOUSNESS

Essays on Cultural Decolonization

by

RENATO CONSTANTINO

Edited, with an Introduction by
István Mészáros

LONDON

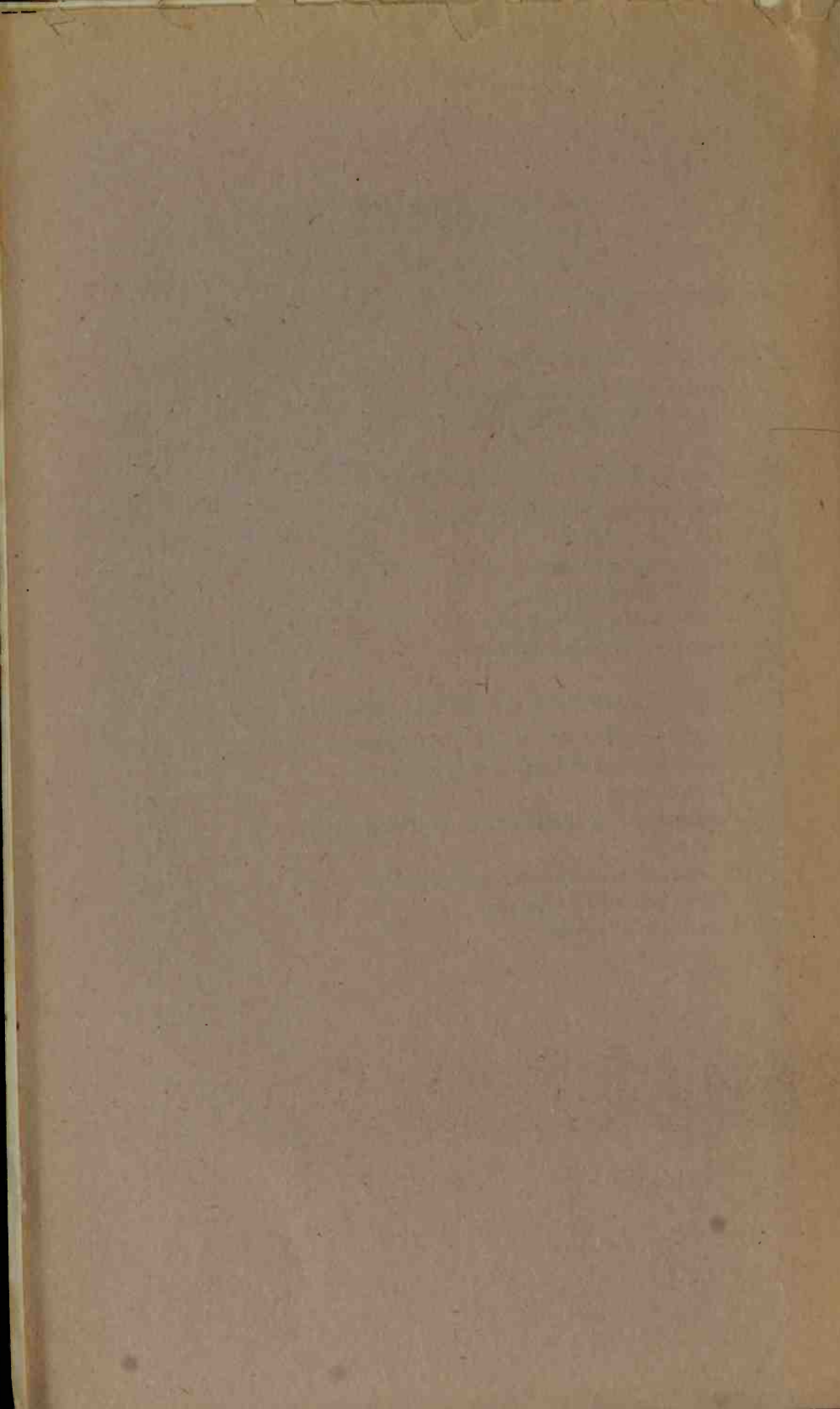
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CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTION	1
PART I: FACING HISTORY	
Identity and Consciousness: The Philippine Experience	25
PART II: SOCIETY IN DEPENDENCY	
The Filipinos in the Philippines	95
The Filipino Elite	115
The Corrupt Society	129
The Filipino Politician	148
Society Without Purpose	165
Diplomacy Without Policy	188
PART III: PROSPECTS OF DEVELOPMENT	
Westernizing Factors in the Philippines	211
Global Enterprises and the Transfer of Technology	227
Development in the Context of Philippine History	246
Nationalism and Partisan Scholarship	260
Intellectuals and Activists	277
Ethics for Nationalists	292



INTRODUCTION

"We see our present with as little understanding as we view our past because aspects of the past which could illumine the present have been concealed from us. This concealment has been effected by a systematic process of mis-education characterized by a thoroughgoing inculcation of colonial values and attitudes—a process which could not have been so effective had we not been denied access to the truth and to part of our written history. As a consequence, we have become a people without a sense of history. We accept the present as given, bereft of historicity. Because we have so little comprehension of our past, we have no appreciation of its meaningful interrelation with the present." Constantino wrote these words in his introductory essay to J.R.M. Taylor's monumental work — *The Philippine Insurrection Against the United States*—and they give a very good indication of the nature of his enterprise. He is described as a historian and political scientist. He is neither, in the traditional sense of these terms. He is a highly selective historian who is only interested in a "Usable Past": the programmatic title of the last chapter of his recent *History of the Philippines*.¹ And his concern with Political Science is no less partisan: a synthesis of knowledge in such a way that it should force his readers to re-examine their attitudes to the forces and events he describes. As a Filipino reviewer

1 Monthly Review Press, New York and London, 1977. First published in 1975 by Tala Publishing Services, Quezon City, under the title: *The Philippines: A Past Revisited*. To be followed by *The Continuing Past*; an equally programmatic title for the second volume which is planned to take the narrative from 1941 to the present.

of a collection of his political essays put it: "Constantino addresses himself directly to our humanity, and seems to challenge us to prove it. Indeed, I find *Dissent and Counter-Consciousness* a moving piece of intellectual persúasion. . . That Constantino is able to recall his readers to their humanity should be a measure of his power as a writer."¹

Politics and history are closely integrated in Constantino's writings, in the service of *demystification* and cultural *decolonization*: the dual task which he consciously and passionately pursues. He knows full well that the price we are asked to pay for the routinized "objectivity" of academic historiography is the reduction of the rich and complex dynamism of the live social process into isolated "facts" and "events." Their transformation into petrified beads, with a hole in each, so that they can be conveniently arranged in a mechanical succession on the thread of lifeless chronology. In Constantino's views: "History for most of us is a melange of facts and dates, of personalities and events, a mixture of hero worship and empty homiletics about our national identity and our tutelage in democracy. History appears as a segmented documentation of events that occurred in the past, without any unifying thread, without continuity save that of chronology, without clear interrelation with the present."² To such view he opposes a conception of history which "must deal not only with objective developments but also bring the discussion to the realm of *value judgments*."³ And since the value judgments referred to arise from the agonizing choices and alternatives of the present, politics and history become indissolubly integrated.

But why history?

Well over a century ago a great national poet⁴ hailed the arrival of the railway with the following exclamation:

1 Petronilo Bn. Daroy reviewing *Dissent and Counter-Consciousness* in *Graphic*, 2 September, 1970.

2 *History of the Philippines*, ed. cit., p. 7.

3 *Ibid.*

4 Sándor Petöfi (1823-1849).

Why didn't you build it before?
 Didn't you have enough iron?
 Break and melt down all your shackles!
 You'll have plenty of iron!

It is a tragic paradox of history known to us—i.e. that phase of history which Marx terms “pre-history”—that liberating potentials turn into enslaving realities, with the help of “false consciousness” articulated as the self-sustaining rationalization and legitimation of the prevailing order. In this respect the inherited form of historical consciousness—constituted through centuries of class domination, but asserting itself also in the eyes of the oppressed as the true and universally valid self-consciousness—is one of the most powerful shackles through which the past dominates the present and blocks the road to a meaningful future. Thus the emancipation of the oppressed is inconceivable without breaking and melting down the chains of this reified historical consciousness and without its positive counterpart: the reconstitution of the power of consciousness as a liberating force. This is why “historical materialism” must be *historical*. Not only in order to grasp the structures of domination in their historical genesis and contradictory development which foreshadows their dissolution, but also in order to help constitute the true historical consciousness of the new social agency: to render it conscious of its “historical mission” so that “pre-history” should give way to the beginning of “true history.”

All these signposts of historical materialism—from “historical mission” to “true history”—clearly indicate that the development of an adequate form of historical consciousness, in place of the mystifying false consciousness, is vital to any radical critique of the prevailing structures of domination. Understandably, therefore, a profound concern for the study of history has been an integral part of articulating the socialist alternative from the moment of its inception, and some of the finest works of twentieth century scholarship are historical studies. However, for the

intellectuals of the "Third World", concern with history assumes a particular urgency. For them the task of developing an adequate historical consciousness acquires the character of cultural decolonization in that the inherited form of "national consciousness" bears the marks of "internalized" colonial domination. The quest for self-identity is, therefore, inseparably also a radical revision of colonial-inspired historiography and the reorientation of historical consciousness towards asserting the interests of the dominated people.

There can be no cool detachment in this enterprise of cultural decolonization, since it involves the clash of irreconcilable interests. Thus when Constantino is accused of "sharply cutting corners in order to force a conclusion,"¹ his critics completely miss the point of his undertaking. For he is forced to do much more than just "cutting corners": he must cut diagonally across the whole field of mystifying colonial historiography, unceremoniously blowing up all the categories of "internalization" he can lay his hands on. The task is a fighting one and the stakes are painfully real: "The various justifications for our subjugation emanated from an adroit utilization of the past in order to serve colonial ends. Thus our 'liberation' by the Spaniards during the early days of occupation underwent successive rationalizations. The Americans, too, projected various rationalizations for their invasion until they were finally able to convince us that they came to educate us and to teach us the ways of democracy. These justifications have become part of our national consciousness. We learned to regard the cultures imposed on us by Spaniards and Americans as superior and, despite sporadic attempts to assert our national identity, we still tacitly accept the alienation of our own culture and the deformation of our economy as natural and unobjectionable developments. We look up to our conquerors and depreciate ourselves; we give respectful consideration to their view-

1 As reported in Armando D. Manalo's article on Constantino, *Chronicle*, 29 September 1970.

point and interests and defend our own with diffidence or equate our interests with theirs. Nationalist voices have had some impact during the last two decades but the dead weight of colonial consciousness and the continuous influx of foreign cultural influences steadily erodes whatever gains have been made. A study of history which seeks to clarify the genesis and development of our peculiar consciousness can be a powerful factor in effecting our independence, both economic and intellectual."¹

When the stakes are as high as this, "cutting corners" is a very small price to pay for accomplishing a vitally necessary task. Its urgency requires to proceed as one can with the help of the available material ("I make no claims to new findings, only new interpretations"²) even if the author is conscious of the limitations he is forced to accept: "When intellectual decolonization shall have been accomplished, a historical account can be produced which will present a fuller, more balanced picture of reality. To obtain a comprehensive knowledge of the activities of the masses in each period of our history will require painstaking examination of documents and all available records, including folklore, as well as inspired deduction. An arduous task, it is nevertheless possible considering what anthropologists and archeologists have been able to do with societies long dead. But since such a history will surely take decades of study, it must be postponed to a period when social conditions will afford scholars the luxury of spending years on this investigation."³ In the meantime—which may be a very long time—the imperative of emancipation is the only guide that can mark out the path to be followed by the searching examination and reinterpretation of the past in the service of the desired future.

1 *History of the Philippines, ed. cit.*, pp. 385-386.

2 *Ibid.*, p. XI.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 6.

Politics and history, thus constitute an organic unity, and the burning issues of the present give vitality to historical analysis. Inevitably, the search for an adequate historical consciousness becomes the assertion of national self-consciousness, and the arrogance of "great nation" chauvinism is opposed by the new-found dignity of the oppressed who are determined to free themselves. The matter is greatly complicated by the fact that the oppressor, having a firmly secured position in the world order of domination, can misrepresent itself as a true internationalist so as to be able to condemn any attempt at emancipation from its colonial rule as a dangerous capitulation to the "ideology of nationalism." To preach the virtues of international brotherhood while in fact representing the ruthless defence of the most selfish exploitative interests has always been a characteristic of imperial powers and the United States is no exception to the rule. "By virtue of its world leadership and its economic interests in many parts of the world, the United States has an internationalist orientation based securely on a well-grounded, long-held nationalistic viewpoint. U.S. education has no urgent need to stress the development of American nationalism in its young people. Economically, politically, culturally, the U.S. is master of its own house. American education, therefore, understandably lays little emphasis on the kind of nationalism we Filipinos need. Instead, it stresses internationalism and underplays nationalism."¹

To insist on the rights of nationalism under such circumstances and against the background of colonial ideologies and practices is thus equivalent to defending the elementary rights of emancipation and self-determination. It means that the arrogance of "great nations" and "world historical nations" must be openly challenged and the proud self-awareness of the so-called "societies without a history" must be clearly voiced by opposing the lessons of the re-

1 Constantino, "The Miseducation of the Filipino," *Weekly Graphic*, 8 June 1966.

interpreted "*usable history*" to the humiliating images of colonial supremacy which preposterously decreed that the societies which it brutally deprived of the power of self-development were *a priori* "societies without a history." It is the passionate assertion of this dignity and self-awareness which animates the writings of all those "Third World" intellectuals who—from Fanon and Che Guevara to Camilo Torres and Dom Hélder Câmara—opted for the struggle against the prevailing order, instead of accepting the rich rewards of a corrupt system for services rendered by the "trahison des clercs."

In the context of the Filipino struggle, the peculiarities of American imperialism significantly add to the difficulties of cultural decolonization. For it is relatively easy to identify an adversary who openly represses you, but rather more difficult when he purports to be your "liberator" and greatest friend: when he succeeds in misrepresenting your exploitation as generous "aid" for your "development" and "modernization." And this is precisely how American domination prevailed over its territories, including the Philippines. After the initial phase of brutal and bloody colonial repression it appeared in the guise of the "emancipator" whose only concern was that those consigned to his tutelage should be duly "educated" and developed to the point of "maturity" so that they can properly benefit from all those acquisitions which he was generously willing to put at their disposal. This new ideology of colonial domination was necessary not only because the sophisticated U.S. "liberator" replaced the primitive Spanish colonial rulers and thus had to appear to be diametrically opposed to them—if not in deed, at least in long-term intention: when, that is, the point of "maturity" is finally reached¹—but also because in accordance with the given phase of capitalist developments, characterized by world-scale expansion and ever-increasing integration, the need for a direct and brutal

¹ Cf. a fashionable recent variety of this old imperialist creed in Walt Rostow's *Stages of Economic Growth*.

(also rather costly) political-military domination was diminishing to the same degree as its functions were being successfully taken over by the increasingly more powerful structures of economic dependency.

Thus the emphasis of colonial rule shifted to a jealous control of *education* on one hand (which the U.S. refused to relinquish in the Philippines, notwithstanding all mystifying semblance of "autonomy," until as late as 1935)¹ and to the complete domination of the *economy* on the other. To quote Constantino: "Control of the economic life of a colony is basic to colonial control. Some imperial nations do it harshly but the United States could be cited for the subtlety and uniqueness of its approach. For example, free trade was offered as a generous gift of American altruism. Concomitantly, the educational policy had to support this view and to soften the effects of the slowly tightening noose around the necks of the Filipinos. The economic motivations of the Americans in coming to the Philippines were not at all admitted to the Filipinos. As a matter of fact, from the first school-days under the soldier-teachers to the present, Philippine history books have portrayed America as a benevolent nation who came here only to save us from Spain and to spread amongst us the boons of liberty and democracy. The almost complete lack of understanding at present of those economic motivations and of the presence of American interests in the Philippines are the most eloquent testimony to the success of the education for colonials which we have undergone."²

One of Constantino's inspirations in this analysis of Filipino society and of its relations with the United States is the late Claro M. Recto: a great nationalist politician who, towards the end of his life, produced a farsighted, unequivocal diagnosis of the contradictions of colonial politics. In one of his most powerful speeches he clearly

1 "The Miseducation of the Filipino," Malay Books pamphlet, pp. 4-5.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

spelled out the need for demystifying some of the most cherished ideals: "Colonies are acquired, colonies are governed, independence and freedom of nations are destroyed, withheld or curtailed in the name of liberty or democracy, or of so-called 'manifest destinies.' Likewise, civil liberties or the rights of the individuals have been suppressed or impaired in the very name of freedom and democracy. Soon after the Second World War, there was in the United States a three-pronged attack on labour unions, civil liberties and communism, all in the name of democracy and, later, of freedom. The campaign spread and crossed the Pacific, and so the Philippines granted Parity rights, a 99-year lease of bases, and accepted a status as a virtual protectorate, also all in the name of democracy and freedom. After over ten years of watching the dexterous manipulation of these words, it should no longer be difficult for many of us to realize our appalling naiveté."¹

The spell of such mystifications turns the ideal of emancipation into a frustrating dream. How is it possible to break that spell? This question takes us to the central theme of Constantino's writings: the development of a "counter-consciousness" in the service of cultural decolonization. "The examination of our colonial consciousness and our eventual liberation from its control must be attended by the evolution and dissemination of a counter-consciousness."—writes Constantino. "The thoughts and ideas that impede the proper development of society have to be countered by a system of thought that can guide the process of change. Social change is on today's agenda here and all over the world. It has become both a reality and an imperative."²

The constitution of this "counter-consciousness" is a complex task, involving the building of many bridges. Constantino is fully aware that such a radically critical consciousness must arise out of the soil of existing

1 Recto, "The Trade between the Free World and the Communist World," Address delivered before the Ph.D. Club, 6 July 1958. Quoted in Constantino, *The Making of a Filipino*, Malay Books, Quezon City, 1969, p. 291.

2 "Intellectuals and Activists," *Graphic*, 20 August, 1969.

consciousness—which is very far from being critical. On the contrary: it impairs perception and distorts reality so as to make it palatable to all those who view the world through its mystifying categories. It is, therefore, necessary to demonstrate that the paralysing force of distorting consciousness can be broken and the development of a genuine Filipino consciousness can be achieved, against all odds, and notwithstanding the enormous power of the prevailing political inertia.

Constantino dedicates one of his finest books—*The Making of a Filipino*—to the demonstration of this possibility. The hero of this book is none other than the late Claro M. Recto quoted above. This is a highly significant choice. For in Recto's personal development he can depict the dynamism of a radical transformation: from the cynical acceptance of American rule and its rewards in the form of the leadership of the majority party in the 'Thirties to the crusading rejection of American domination in any form whatsoever in the 'Fifties. The genesis of this great nationalist figure is what captures Constantino's imagination: the intriguing change from the original capitulation to the "reality" of traditional politics (the realization of personal ambition granted by the colonial ruler as "patronage, rank and sinecure"¹) to the passionate advocacy of "a political leadership whose sole allegiance is the people."² He is able to show through Recto's development that the key to understanding the ways of politics is an adequate insight into the monopolistic interests of imperialism: "Imperialism, in short, does not represent the sentiment of the people of any nation in this world. Imperialism is an ideology to maintain which the monopolists, faced with the necessity of exporting their surplus goods and surplus capital, and of insuring their sources of needed primary materials, have found it necessary to

1 Recto's expressions.

2 Recto, "Our Political Parties before the Bar of History," address delivered at the University of the Philippines, 17 April 1960. Quoted in *The Making of a Filipino*, ed. cit., p. 294.

control, through one means or another, the governments of other peoples. . . . It is evident that a 'Filipino-first' policy is necessarily being anti-American-imperialist. There is no anti-Americanism involved in this excepting in the eyes of those who would erroneously identify American imperialism with Americanism."¹ Such a clear differentiation between imperialism and the people whose interests it is supposed to represent, shows not only that Recto correctly identified the target of socially valid politics but also that he himself transcended the mystifications of colonial politics which systematically confuse these lines of demarcation. It shows the immense distance from Recto's political beginnings: his identification with a cause which enables Constantino to sum up the significance of his journey by saying that "his development proved that only the decolonized Filipino is a real Filipino."² Recto's example speaks for itself. Constantino's question about the possibility of breaking the paralyzing force of distorting consciousness is answered. It has been broken. It can be broken.

One of Constantino's reviewers wrote in praise of his book on Recto: "Renato Constantino does not merely bring into his work years of study and scholarship; he brings to it the commitment of his life. This is probably the reason for the moving passages that describe Recto's emergence as a nationalist, after so much vicissitudes and inevitable compromises. A heroic tone pervades these passages: the subject falters on the way but in the end he scales the heights of his destiny. And we feel the author's relaxation as our own."³ And another reviewer concluded that "the force with which, from one man's personal experience, he argues the case for national liberation from colonial attitudes is very nearly irresistible."⁴

1 Recto's letter to Jose Y. Orosa, 20 October 1958. Quoted in *The Making of a Filipino*, ed. cit., pp. 284-285.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 296.

3 Adrian Cristobal in *The Evening News*, 17 October 1969.

4 Carmen Cuerrero-Nakpil in *The Sunday Times Magazine*, 5 October 1969.

All this is very true. There is an intense subjective pathos in Constantino's book, since he is showing a great transformation at the end of which a much admired man—who also happened to be Constantino's friend and mentor—emerges victorious over the corrupting colonial circumstances, dedicated with total commitment to the cause of emancipation, and scornful about the voices of "prudence." "I don't care about the political repercussions. I am already 65 years old, and all I care about is to safeguard the interest of the Filipino people."¹—he declares forcefully over the issue of American military bases in the Foreign Affairs Committee, and there can be no return.

Constantino is looking for this kind of total commitment which cannot admit any more relapses and humiliating returns to the fold. He knows very well that such a commitment requires great courage, for the repercussions—both political and personal—may be extremely severe. After all, he himself had to endure many years of harrassment, from the McCarthy era to the present. He committed himself to the cause of his people in his early youth, and he never turned away from the commitment, even if also for him many years were needed to realize its full implications.

It would be quite wrong to consider him a born outsider to all the vicissitudes of colonial politics. Not only the dangers of harrassment but also the temptations of high reward for integration—"patronage, rank, sinecure"—were laid before him, given the power of an intellect not even his adversaries could deny. He had to sail through between the Scylla and Charybdis of political integration to exchange for a "brilliant public career" on one hand, and academic withdrawal and resignation—characteristics of many a "brilliant academic career"—on the other. And he had to overcome the dilemmas and agonies of such a journey, which couldn't be easier for him than for anyone else. That he came through, opting for the continuation and intensification of the struggle in face of harrassment and enforced

1 *The Making of a Filipino*, ed. cit., p. 219.

isolation, speaks for his integrity, depth of commitment, and farsightedness of vision. That he had to come through and succeeded in doing so, shows that there are other examples to emulate, which gives also an intense subjective authenticity to his depiction of Recto's journey. The "heroic tone" and "irresistible" character of this writing noticed by his reviewers emanate from its implicit message: *de nostra re agitur*; I am talking about and for all of us; we ought to follow the road of total commitment; we can do it.

Already in 1940, at the age of 21, the young Constantino signals to all the fact that he has come to age by crossing swords with the powers in existence. As the Collegian editor he attacks in an editorial President Quezon's proposals for the introduction of a one-party system. Unexpectedly, things take a good turn this time. The President has no answers to Constantino's arguments but for some reason goes to the campus of the University of the Philippines to defend himself by curiously denying that he ever made that proposal (although he certainly did) and ends up by praising the young editor: "if somebody had come out and advocated a one-party system, I would have written that editorial myself, yes, I would have written that editorial myself, if I were such a good writer as Constantino." No aspiring young politician and intellectual could ask for a better letter of introduction to the corridors of success than such a high-power retreat and praise.

Indeed, the immediate post-war years find Constantino at the United Nations as Executive Secretary of the Philippine Mission and as Alternate Representative and Adviser of the Philippine Delegation to the General Assembly between 1946-1949. The doors to the "brilliant public career" are wide open, and the distinguished stay at the United Nations is followed by the years of office as Counsellor of the Department of Foreign Affairs between 1949-1951. At the same time the doors to academic success are also opened up: he acts as Professional Lecturer in Political Science and Economics at Adamson University and Arellano University between 1949-1951 and as

Professor of Political Science and History at the Far Eastern University between 1951 and 1954. If only he could close an eye or two to the ways in which the arrogance of U.S. power manipulates colonial politicians, there would be no way of telling how far he could go. And since he can combine political expertise with professional acumen, if only he could observe the hallowed rules of the respective games and restrain himself from thinking for himself and, above all, from communicating to others the thoughts he came up with, he might even scale the heights of both world's simultaneously.

However, the price for having such "brilliant careers" is far too high, and Constantino refuses to pay it. Inevitably, therefore, he finds himself in the wilderness at the time when the McCarthy ideology is cynically used to tighten the U.S. grip also on Filipino politics and cultural life, all in the name of freedom and democracy, of course. His essay on "The Miseducation of the Filipino"—written in 1959—must wait seven long years before it can see the light of day, because the intensification of harrassment, started against him way back in 1951, reaches such a climax in 1959 that, following orders from above, not only is he kicked out of his university job as a "dangerous subversive" but even the pages of Philippine periodicals are closed to his writings until 1966. Not that this diverts him from the chosen course. On the contrary, the severity of measures against him only intensifies critical reflection and Constantino's thought reaches its maturity—as evidenced by his first collection of essays: *The Filipinos in the Philippines*—in the period of his enforced silence which spans the years 1959-1966.

It is often asked, which comes first in a person's development: his moral integrity or the strength of his intellect. The answer is, surely: neither, for they go inseparably together; the intensity of moral commitment helps to remove even the most prohibitive taboos, thus sharpening insight and broadening one's vision, which in its turn helps to sustain an uncompromising moral integrity

under the most adverse circumstances, so that a person's full potentials can go on unfolding, instead of being stifled by the submission of unfavourable events and forces. As both Recto's and Constantino's development shows, the secret of "pulling oneself up by one's bootstraps", emerging not only victorious when everybody expects defeat but at the same time also growing in stature, is to make the two work together in the service of a cause that requires and merits the integrity of passionate commitment and the full absorption of all one's powers.

The late Senator Claro M. Recto once wrote on a book he gave to Constantino the following dedication: "To Renato Constantino, patriot, nationalist, a great mind."¹ These are generous words from a man of Recto's significance. And yet, they don't quite do justice to Constantino. They describe more accurately Recto himself than his outstanding disciple who in a very important sense went far beyond his great mentor.

Constantino is not simply a nationalist. He is one who is anxious to define the class basis of the movement for national emancipation in precise, and also organizationally realistic terms, seeing that colonial domination was traditionally inseparable from the willing submission of the indigenous ruling class to the colonial master in the interest of its own class rule. For this reason, in Constantino's analysis of Recto's development much attention is paid to understanding the class position of this great "*ilustrado*" who in the end had to become "an *ilustrado* renegade when he worked for real independence, negating the *ilustrado* line and adopting a viewpoint that was more in correspondence with the people's real aspirations."² Constantino shows how the internal logic of Recto's development brings him into conflict with the narrow interests of his class, and how his integrity and insight enable him to surmount

1 As related by Senator Lorenzo M. Tañada in his preface to *The Filipinos in the Philippines*, Malay Books, Quezon City, 1966, p. XI.

2 *The Making of a Filipino*, ed. cit., p. 22.

many of his original limitations. But it is equally clearly shown that even at the climax of Recto's development a great deal remains to be surmounted. Talking of Recto's last phase of political activity, Constantino writes: "he saw that a long process of education was necessary. More than ever he decided to contribute his share towards the implementation of his goal. But when it came to implementing the conclusions he had drawn from the electoral disaster, Recto revealed that he still laboured under the influence of old ideas and techniques. For the problem of mass education, his solution was the old one of delivering speeches on nationalism and the issues of the day. Essentially an individualist, he was not one to embark on mass organization work."¹

This is the point where the contrast between Recto's nationalism and Constantino's approach is clearly visible. For the latter has no use for individualism, advocating organized collective action and mass militancy instead. For Constantino history is the people's history—no matter how neglected it is at present: "Official history is written by the ruling class in its own image. It is in most cases propagandistic and narcissistic. It arrogates to the leaders of this ruling class all the credit for the advances of society and, as one may expect, pays scant attention to the participation of the inarticulate—the masses."² In his view "it is not individuals that make history; it is the people who are the makers of history. Therefore, only those individuals whose acts and teachings are in consonance with the aspirations and needs of the people will have a permanent place of honour in history."³ This criterion clearly guides also the evaluation of Recto's various phases of development, assigning to him in the end a high place of honour on account of his courageous negation of imperialism. But it also sets the limits, in that even the last of Recto's phases is a long way

1 *The Making of a Filipino*, ed. cit., p. 281.

2 Constantino, "Nationalism and Partisan Scholarship", *Philippine Collegian*,

24 September 1975.

3 *Ibid.*

from the realization of Constantino's ideal: "Recto's relevance to the present lies not so much in the continuing validity of his nationalist premises as in his contribution to the forward march of history. His class position and his colonial upbringing, it is true, delayed and circumscribed his development, but his courageous attempt to break away from the colonial condition was itself a great single effort which contributed to today's relative enlightenment."¹ Enlightenment is a very important step in the right direction, which makes Recto's place in history, with the above qualifications, secure. But the perspective from which that place is being assessed is the coming revolution which the great *ilustrado* could not envisage, let alone advocate: "a real people's history will be written when the Filipino people actively seize their destiny and courageously shape another exciting period of their history."²

Constantino's "nationalism," conceived from the perspective of the people's revolution, is clearly articulated in socio-economic terms. He is fully aware of the inherent connections between politics and economics, and of the ultimate determining force of the latter: "We see the economic structure as the basis for an iniquitous political system in which economic privilege becomes the pillar of political power—a power that enhances colonial control and further entrenches the hold of the local elite over the people."³ Consequently, he is anxious to unmask the various "developmental theories" which represent the interests of "the great political powers and their economic tentacles, the global corporations." The mystifications of such theories are designed to help perpetuate the *status quo* of exploitation through the illusion of "aid and development," cynically misrepresenting the actual beneficiary as generous donor: "The wealth of the advanced nations has been made possible by the impoverishment of the backward

1 *The Making of a Filipino*, ed. cit., p. 296.

2 "Nationalism and Partisan Scholarship."

3 "Development in the Context of Philippine History," address before the Philippine Society for Social Development, 18 February 1976.

nations. It is therefore not surprising that this cause-and-effect relationship has been carefully buried under the avalanche of development concepts and literature that the advanced nations have been propagating."¹

The powerful economic tentacles and their rationalizations are subjected to a careful scrutiny. As a result, another mystification is exploded: the misnomer "multinationals", which in fact hides the preponderantly dominating position of U.S. capitalism in the world order of exploitation. The figures speak eloquently enough for themselves. Out of 211 global firms whose 1971 sales exceeded one thousand million dollars, 127 were Americans and only 18 from West Germany, 16 from Japan, 15 from the U.K., and 13 from France. And an equally revealing figure: out of 1,029 executives of U.S. "multinationals" only *nineteen* were foreign citizens. Under such control, rates of profit extracted from dirt-cheap neo-colonial labour were phenomenally high, thanks to a miserable 30 cents hourly wage rate for skilled labour paid by Ford Philippines Inc., for instance, as against \$7.50 (i.e. the almost incredible ratio of 25 to 1) in the Detroit plant.

"Development aid" is thus a vehicle of implementing a new type of international division of labour whereby high labour intensive segments of industry are transferred to underdeveloped areas, and the naked capitalist strategy of securing the cheapest possible labour supply is dressed up as a magnanimous "transfer of technology." Structural dependency is intensified by a variety of means, including such devices as the notorious "car complement scheme" (of which even the advanced Canadians have some experience in a slightly more palatable version as the so-called "auto-pact"); patent-control; withholding technical and scientific knowledge; compelling the branch-plants to import expensive materials from the controlling country in place of readily available local alternatives; etc. etc. The radical response to such strategies—devised to perpetuate and enhance the

1 *Ibid.*

structural dependency of the underdeveloped territories on the advanced capitalist countries—cannot be other than the firm assertion of a genuine national emancipation in the only form in which it is feasible: the social revolution through which “the people actively seize their destiny and shape their history.”

Significantly enough, Constantino's socio-economically well defined nationalism is asserted together with its necessary complementary: the advocacy of the active solidarity and far-reaching cooperation of Third World countries. Talking about the transfer of technology he stresses that “this problem cannot be solved in isolation from other problems, nor by each country acting alone, and especially not without *political awareness and militant action by the peoples of the Third World*. Concerted and coherent programmes are vital. Cooperation among Third World countries, perhaps starting only with demands for more equitable sharing of technology, will inevitably progress to embrace people's demands for the pooling of resources and for the coordination of policies against their continued economic subordination to global corporations and to the imperialist states that support the exploitation of the Third World by these economic giants.”¹

As we can see from this brief survey of Constantino's main themes, they constitute a coherent system. His whole enterprise is animated by the firmly held belief that social change is on today's agenda all over the world: that it is no longer a mere imperative but also a reality, and therefore the creation of an effective critical consciousness is both necessary and possible. Constantino is not interested in theorizing detached from practical concerns, nor in activism devoid of a sound theoretical guidance: he insists on the necessary unity of theory and practice: “Activism without definable fundamental goals and the corresponding theory

1 “Global Enterprises and the Transfer of Technology,” *Proceedings of the First Congress of the Third World Economists*, Algiers, 2-9 February 1976.

of society is nothing. And criticism without active protest is an academic exercise without lasting value. Activists, therefore, have to become critics zealously studying present reality as it evolved from the past so that they may thoroughly understand the society they are trying to change. Academic critics have to make a study of both the present and the past in order to be able to guide activism. Thus, in a way, activists have to be scholars and scholars have to be activists."¹ And in another context: "Revolts must be presented as *accretions of consciousness*, as *praxis* from which the people may derive lessons and on the basis of which theory may be formulated."²

The same principle must guide also the methodology. Theoretical "totalization" of particular elements of a study cannot be meaningfully done without some practical purpose: "Objective facts and developments must be presented within a framework and a point of view, in order to serve a useful end. The vast accumulation of data cannot be absorbed but it can be *totalized* as an experience showing the interrelation of economic, political and social phenomena. It is only in this way that facts can be absorbed in a meaningful manner. . . objective history is the version written from the vantage point of the people."³ It is this vantage point of the people (Lukács calls it "the standpoint of the proletariat") which makes it possible to produce meaningful totalizations in relation to objective developments and practical ends without which the work of historians and theoreticians is condemned to the futility of a sterile academic exercise.

This is as far as Constantino can go under the circumstances. The central message of his work is that the colonial stranglehold on consciousness is the crucial factor through which the whole of society is dominated: "From its inception, Spanish colonization operated more through religion than through force, thus profoundly affecting

1 "Intellectuals and Activists."

2 "Nationalism and Partisan Scholarship."

3 *Ibid.*

consciousness. This enabled the authorities to impose tributes, forced labour and conscription despite the small military force. Without the work of the priests, this would have been impossible. The priests became the pillars of the colonial establishment, so much so that it became a clerical boast that 'in each friar in the Philippines the king had a captain general and a whole army.' The moulding of consciousness in the interest of colonial control was to be repeated on another plane by the Americans who after a decade of massive repression operated likewise through consciousness, this time using education and other cultural institutions."¹ The message is clear: the subversion of colonial consciousness through the development of a "counter-consciousness" inevitably means also the end of colonial domination at all levels and in all spheres.

As to the ways of achieving this, Constantino is, understandably, much less explicit. Talking about the concluding part of Constantino's *Dissent and Counter-Consciousness*, one of his most sympathetic and sensitive critics, Armando Manalo writes: "Mr Constantino is at his most Marcusian in this section of the book, but also at his least helpful. It is not that he is ambiguous, but that he is quite clearly *groping for a thought which refuses to crystallize*."²

If this is so, it is not simply Constantino's fault. The fact is that while he advocates the constitution of a counter-consciousness in his country, he cannot point to powerful forces of liberation which could render certain aspects of his own discourse more concrete and less "Marcusian." While it is true that social change is on today's agenda all over the world in a *historical sense*, at the same time it is also true that the powers of oppression and domination under present-day circumstances remain massive, brutally curtailing the margin of action of the forces of liberation. So long as the major capitalist countries—and above all the U.S.—continue

1 *Identity and Consciousness: The Philippine Experience*, Malaya Books, Quezon City, 1974, p. 6.

2 *Chronicle*, 29 September 1970.

to live successfully with their contradictions, however sharp they might be, the conditions of structural dependency must prevail and even intensify in the underdeveloped countries too.

Thus, being at the receiving end in the world system of structural dependency, and being "peripheral" to its developments in the sense that—precisely because of this dependency—they cannot exercise a major impact on the material processes of decision making without a prior political change of the greatest magnitude, is it surprising that intellectuals of these areas tend to concentrate their attention on the development of consciousness, envisaging the unfolding of a critical political awareness? After all, the alternative would be to wait until the material conditions are "right," and proceed thereafter on a favourable basis. But that would be a false alternative: a "waiting for Godot." For the material conditions are never fully right or favourable without the active contribution of consciousness.

What matters, therefore, is that an adequate assessment of the material factors should not be absent from the horizon in any strategy that aims at developing a critical consciousness. As indeed they are clearly there, in their proper place, when Constantino writes: "While it is true that material conditions and the activism necessary to change them will inevitably call forth a counter-consciousness, it is likewise true that the quality of this counter-consciousness will depend on the level of intellectualization of those who think of an in behalf of the forces of change."¹ And again: "Economic liberation will surely produce the liberation of consciousness in its advanced stage but it is possible, and indeed necessary, to work for some liberation of consciousness so that the people may act to secure their economic liberation."²

Since the system of structural dependency is a world system, emancipation from its oppressive power is of necess-

1 "Intellectuals and Activists."

2 "Development in the Context of Philippine History."

ity a global task. As Constantino rightly stresses, "dependency is not a one-way street,"¹ in that the advanced capitalist countries are themselves greatly dependent on the resources (strategic and other materials, energy, and cheap labour) of the underdeveloped areas. Consequently, anti-colonial political developments in underdeveloped countries necessarily intensify the selfsame global structural crisis of capital that keeps social change historically on the agenda, notwithstanding the temporary success of corrective measures and "developmental" manipulations. If Constantino is groping for answers which refuse to crystallize, he is not alone in that. Many things need rethinking, and he has done a fair share of it already. In any case, "a philosophy of liberation is not a body of thought given once and for all time. It is itself a growing thing depending on accretions of consciousness. It is merely a systematization of goals and action. It is really more of a programme than a philosophy. It is not contemplative; it is active and dynamic and encompasses the objective situation as well as the subjective reaction of the people involved. It cannot be the work of a select group, even if this group regards itself as motivated by the best interests of the people. It needs the participation of the backbone of the nation."²

Thinking in such perspectives is what makes Constantino's writing relevant also to us.

1 "Global Enterprises and the Transfer of Technology."

2 "Development in the Context of Philippine History."

PART I

FACING HISTORY

IDENTITY AND CONSCIOUSNESS: THE PHILIPPINE EXPERIENCE*

While the Philippines shares with its neighbours a common colonial background, it exhibits certain historical particularities absent from the reality of its sister nations. In many ways it does conform to generally expected lines of development and response but expectations are just as often defeated because of failure to consider an obvious but overlooked or glossed-over reality. I refer to the diffusion and actual regression of national consciousness.

The existence of a Filipino nation is a fact, but the existence of a national consciousness is only a pre-supposition, if by national consciousness one means that sense of oneness which comes from a community of aspiration, response and action. For Filipinos, the question of nationality has become one of identity but not of a consciousness of common aspirations and goals. It is this growing disparity between identity and consciousness that has been responsible for the ambiguity of Filipino behaviour, for the Filipino's east-west ambivalence, and for his marginal participation in the historic struggles of other colonial peoples.

By virtue of its pre-colonial history and its colonial experience, the Philippines occupies a unique position in Southeast Asia's revolutionary tradition. Its people were the first in this region of Asia to rise in a national revolution against the colonizer thus earning for themselves the admiration and respect of other nationalities also struggling

*This was one of the main papers in Symposium 3 of the VIII World Sociology Congress, August 20, 1974, Toronto, Canada.

to be free. But the process of making a nation was interrupted and later tragically redirected to produce what is now a confused people who in their pathetic search for identity look at an idealized indigenous past and to the Hispanized culture of their colonial forbears¹ and who in their desire to solve the problems of the present, dream of a future anchored on western concepts and values.

Three historical influences—the level of social and economic development attained before colonization, the nature of Spanish rule, and the impact of American domination—must be examined to isolate the factors which operating within the realm of consciousness itself, have constantly undermined the efforts of Filipinos to develop a highly liberating national consciousness. It is an examination of these influences which must occupy our attention if we are to understand the zig-zags of Philippine revolutionary experience.

PRE-CONQUEST SOCIETIES

The inhabitants of the Philippines did not possess a high degree of civilization and social structure during pre-conquest times as did their Southeast Asian brothers. In contrast to the culture that flourished in the Indochina peninsula and in parts of what is now Indonesia, ample evidences of which may be found in extant structures such as Borobodur and Angkor Vat, the population of the Philippines at point of contact with the Spanish conquerors lived in small scattered communities based on kinship ties and relying for sustenance mainly on subsistence agriculture.² No enduring monuments to the labours of these peoples are extant because they did not erect structures of stone or any other hard material. This can only lead one to the conclusion that in these small and primitive communities the level of labour organization was such that no surplus was being produced that could enable a ruling class to appropriate labour for luxury and for the construction of temples and palaces for self-glorification.

Pre-Spanish communities were subsistence economies and therefore had no classes in the economic sense. What Spanish proto-anthropologists described as social classes were groups performing ritual and community roles as a primitive division of labour which these Spanish observers arbitrarily fitted into the Western conceptual framework of social classes. Definitely, there was no state. On the whole, the Philippines was subjected to western colonialism before it was influenced by the great cultures of Asia.³

There were, however, exceptions to the general rule. Certain Muslim communities in the south which were within the orbit of Islamic proselytization activities exhibited more advanced social formations. These communities were well on the road to a non-western development when the Spaniards arrived. Other communities in the islands of Luzon and Visayas which were exposed to an expanding Islam exhibited certain social stratifications doubtless influenced by contact with these seafaring Muslims. The diffusion of certain beliefs and practices in the seaside communities with which the Spaniards first made contact led Spanish chroniclers to the erroneous conclusion that Muslim influences were deep and generalized throughout the islands. These observers failed to note the fact that the people in these communities whom they classified as followers of Mohammed performed the blood compact (drinking blood mixed with wine), a practice strongly against Muslim custom. They also served pork and drank wine in violation of Muslim law.⁴ Moreover, the accounts of the early chroniclers clearly establish the fact that the dominant religion of the people was not that of Islam. Early writers described certain forms of paganism, the belief in anitos (spirits), the absence of places of worship, and even the animistic practice of ascribing supernatural power to stones and trees and animals such as crocodiles.⁵

ISLAM ABORTED

Had the Spaniards not arrived, the rest of the islands would surely have been Islamized and thoroughly exposed to the great Asian traditions. The scattered communities in Luzon and the Visayas would certainly have come under the control of the Muslims of Mindanao and Sulu⁶ and eventually a Muslim nation would have been established. But Spanish conquest aborted this indigenous development, and more, it reversed the historic trend. The Spaniards found Luzon strategically suited for their purpose. A Muslim outpost in Manila, distant from the centre of Muslim strength, quickly capitulated to Spanish colonization thus opening the gateways to the communities in Luzon which promised greater viability as colonial settlements.⁷ The *conquistadores* turned their Luzon anchorage into a stronghold. With their settlements in Cebu and Panay, they were now in a position to spread all over the Visayan region. The Muslims in Mindanao and Sulu then became a target for punitive action; the wars of the *reconquista* were fought all over again.⁸

The Muslim south became a beleaguered fortress, the only segment of indigenous Philippine society that tenaciously resisted Hispanization and colonization and the only area which, because of its consequent isolation, was able to preserve and develop indigenous practices and culture as well as to continue to receive Muslim influences. Throughout the Spanish occupation, the Muslims were not considered part of the developing society and the Muslim region was treated as foreign territory. Needless to say, the Muslims shared the same attitude. The difference in religion became a basic alienative factor between Christianized "indios" and Muslim "Moros."⁹ Whatever ties of race and custom had previously existed were broken and worse, were replaced by suspicion and antipathy since Christianized natives were regularly conscripted for the wars against the Muslims and, in retaliation, the Muslims also raided the Christianized communities. Thus

Spanish colonialism left a legacy of alienation between Christian and Muslim. The gulf between the two communities persists to this day, with ethnic biases aggravated by economic irritations.

PACIFICATION AND PROSELYTIZATION

Because it was the Christianized natives¹⁰ rather than the Muslims who eventually became the dominant force in the country, it is the shaping of their developing consciousness that must be our principal concern. In this regard, one of the most effective of the early colonial policies was the *reduccion*.¹¹ The Spaniards forcibly resettled the small, scattered kinship groups into larger communities for easy administration and proselytization. This forced urbanization had a rapid and deep effect on native consciousness for it subjected every aspect of the natives' lives to the close scrutiny and direction of their rulers.

Not having attained a high degree of culture, these communities were virtually a *tabula rasa* on which Spanish values were inscribed. They were easily manipulated because they had no institutional defences against an external force that sought to erase their native traits in order to transform them into docile subjects who could be utilized for the greater glory of Church and Crown.

Aside from their low cultural level, there was another factor that prevented the development of their indigenous traits. This was the difference in the tactics of colonization between the Spaniards and the other colonizing powers in this part of the world. While in general the western powers initially instituted in their Asian colonies a system of indirect rule through the trading companies, the role of the Spanish priest in the Philippines was a deviation from this practice.

In the other colonies, it was initially more feasible to institute a system of indirect rule¹² whereby the colonizers dealt only with chieftains who in turn traditionally

controlled communities with relatively high levels of cultural and institutional integration. This enabled indigenous societies to preserve their traditions and practices so that when these powers decided to implant direct rule in the 19th century, the level of culture of the colonized people was such that it could no longer be completely obliterated. Social organization in these communities was advanced; state power was already a native apparatus supporting the local ruling class; firmly established traditions and practices endowed the people with "a racial memory of ancient glory". One cannot disregard the role of the people's pride in the attainments of their community, in their art and literature, and in their unbroken history. These achievements constituted the source of their identity and dignity. Although they were conquered, they had a cultural basis for confronting their conquerors with dignity, even with condescension. They retained a sense of racial worth.

The early Philippine inhabitants, except the Muslims, could not have had this feeling to a sufficient degree, hence the ease with which they adopted a colonial mentality. They did not confront their conquerors as a single people but as small, scattered, separate communities which therefore required only a small army of occupation to control. Psychological control was as easily established. The fact that the people became Catholics made God the powerful ally of their rulers. The friars enlisted God on the side of colonialism. To the fear of physical punishment was added the infinitely more potent fear of supernatural retribution. Thus one priest was usually enough to control a village, for rebellion against the priest was equated with rebellion against God and therefore with eternal damnation. The priest was their accepted ruler, the representative of their God on earth and the intermediary for their souls after death. The friars became the dominant factors in the colonial contingents and the church became the centre of the people's life. The strictures of the friars became the guideposts of native conduct. On their indigenous traits was engrafted a new set of values that the colonizer

considered essential for the good colonial.

Certain historical factors operated to further consolidate the position of the friars. The distance from Spain and the frustration of the colonists' prospects for enrichment led to the pre-emption of the territory by the friar orders. The outpost in Manila became a commercial centre profitable only to the Spanish residents and a base for operations in the Far Eastern wars of Spain. The rest of the country was not absorbed into a national economy. Rather, the native inhabitants were incorporated into a religious community where the friars ruled with few constraints. From its inception, Spanish colonization operated more through religion than through force, thus profoundly affecting consciousness. This enabled the authorities to impose tributes, forced labour and conscription despite the small military force. Without the work of the priests, this would have been impossible. The priests became the pillars of the colonial establishment, so much so that it became a clerical boast that "in each friar in the Philippines the king had a captain general and a whole army."¹³

The moulding of consciousness in the interest of colonial control was to be repeated on another plane by the Americans who after a decade of massive repression operated likewise through consciousness, this time using education and other cultural institutions.

CONSCIOUSNESS IN THE PHILIPPINE EXPERIENCE

Before proceeding further it would be well to establish the meaning of consciousness and to define the context in which I propose to use it. Consciousness is the manner by which a society in its development explains the world and views itself. But more than that, it is the recognition of the changing nature of social forms, therefore it is an awareness of the necessity for basic and hence revolutionary change. From this context, the categories of counter-consciousness, ignorance, and national identity will acquire new meanings as applied to the Philippine experience.

As a rule, when society advances in its mode of production, consciousness undergoes changes in conformity with the changing social base. But this change comes about so slowly that at a given point it constitutes an impediment to the full development of the material forces. In the Philippine experience the realm of consciousness had become part of the material forces almost from the beginning of colonial life and was responsible for the material backwardness and the spiritual emptiness of the people. This explains why the Filipinos have lagged behind their neighbours in the development of a liberating consciousness. Consciousness as impediment in the realm of spirit is compounded by consciousness as a material force. Thus changes in the material base are delayed by the weight of consciousness itself as consciousness is imprisoned by the relatively unchanging base. Any heightening of consciousness acquires political characteristics which may be permanent or temporary. Thus it is distinguished from identity which may not always connote degrees of politicization which should always accompany national consciousness. The latter not only identifies but also separates and therefore becomes the basis for a political outlook that defines goals and impels action. Counter-consciousness is the reaction against the prevailing consciousness and becomes consciousness when it triumphs. In the Philippine experience, counter-consciousness became consciousness for a brief period during the Revolution and reverted to its former role when confronted by a new colonialism.

The basis for what developed into what is now accepted as a typically Filipino way of life and manner of viewing the world was laid during the early years of Spanish occupation. What is considered today as indigenous was largely shaped by Spanish impositions and the response of the natives thereto. As the principal architects of the colonial edifice, the priests fashioned a theocratic society with religion as the core of Spanish cultural control. Religion assumed political dimensions and vice-versa. It

should be noted that the clergy exercised their tremendous influence not only in the service of Spanish colonialism but more particularly to maintain their hold on the people and to protect and enhance their stake in the economic life of the colony.¹⁴ Alongside the teaching of the catechism, emphasis was placed on certain virtues that perpetuated blind acceptance of the rule of the friars. Resignation and passivity were virtues that made a good colonial as well as a docile parishioner. Respect for the master and depreciation of indigenous ways were twin objectives that facilitated control.¹⁵

Education was a haphazard affair under the supervision of the different parish priests.¹⁶ There was no system of national education until 1863.¹⁷ Primary education was limited to the three R's and this merely to enable the student to learn his religion. Secondary schools were open only to students of Spanish descent. It is relevant to quote here what La Perouse, the French traveller, said regarding Spanish policy: "... the only thought was to make Christians and never citizens."¹⁸ In the discharge of their task the friars tried to "eradicate, when they could not transfigure, whatever traces of paganism stood in the way of evangelization."¹⁹

Of crucial importance is the fact that the friars concentrated their attention on the children.²⁰ This meant that within a few years these children grown to adulthood under the new dispensation were so thoroughly brainwashed that they became the foundation stone of a new colonial cultural establishment with the accompanying negative virtues that supported stultification of mind and spirit. In the words of Graciano Lopez Jaena, by "burying him in ignorance and fanaticism" the "friar... has found in the *indio* an inexhaustible mine of exploitation..."²¹

Jose Rizal describes in these caustic words the repressive, sterile society that prevailed in the colony even down to the late 19th century:

... In the Philippines all those are *filibusteros* (subversives) in the towns who do not take off their hats on meeting a Spaniard, be the weather that it may; those who greet a

friar and do not kiss his sweaty hand, if he is a priest, or his habit, if he is a lay-brother; those who manifest displeasure at being addressed by the familiar *tu* by anyone and everyone, accustomed as they are to show respect and to receive it; those who are subscribers to some periodical of Spain or of Europe, even if it treat of literature, the sciences, or the fine arts; those who read books other than the novenas and fairy-stories of miracles of the girdle, the cord, or the scapular; those who in the elections of the *gobernadorcillos* vote for one who is not the candidate of the parish priest; all those, in a word, who among normal civilized people are considered good citizens, friends of progress and enlightenment, in the Philippines are *filibusteros*, enemies of order, and like lightning rods, attract on stormy days wrath and calamities.²²

Incidentally, this society forms a large part of what is now nostalgically recalled as the traditional ways, the glorious past of the Filipinos.

CULTURAL LIFE

Religious concern seriously limited the literary life of the period. The forms of literature that flourished were the *corridos*, the *romanzas*, the *moro-moros*, the lives of saints and the *pasion*.²³ The lives of the saints became best sellers. These hagiographies were the purveyors of a way of life characterized by dependence on intercessors who could change one's fate. The friars who admonished their flock against superstitions of a pagan origin were in reality promoters of this superstitious bent because they trained the native mind not to reason but merely to obey and to rely on supernatural intervention which, they were led to believe, could be purchased.²⁴ The economic fruit of this belief was the brisk sale of scapulars, masses etc. to save souls and to protect the purchasers from earthly misfortunes and the fires of Hell.²⁵

The *pasion* related in metrical verse the life and

sufferings of Jesus. Many printed pamphlets containing different versions written in the various vernaculars were circulated. These were recited for several nights during the period of Lent.

The *moro-moros* were the "westerns" of the time. They dwelt on only one theme—the wars between the Christians and the "Moros", a carryover of *reconquista* days. The "Moros" were the "bad 'guys" and they always lost or if allowed some dignity or some redeeming quality were converted to Catholicism in the end. No doubt the *moro-moros* had a share in strengthening and maintaining anti-Muslim prejudice.

The *romanzas* and *corridos* dealt with heroes of foreign lands. There was nothing native about these plays and novels. Even "Florante at Laura", the celebrated poem of the best known Tagalog poet, Francisco Baltazar, had Albania for its locale.²⁶

Art was purely religious imagery and public entertainment centred on the feast days of patron saints, during which processions and other activities sanctioned by the friars were held.

The Spanish language was not taught except in schools reserved for children of Spaniards. Instead, the friars learned the dialects and spread the catechism through the local tongues. This was an effort to screen the people from reading works in Spanish.²⁷ It was also the arrogant Spaniard's way of maintaining social distance, of keeping the *indio* in his place.

DYNAMICS OF IGNORANCE

As a result of Spanish policies the cultural level of the people remained low and their consciousness was warped. Thus, ignorance became a material force in the colonial setting, assuming a dynamics of its own which continued to operate even after a limited number of Filipinos had been allowed access to higher education.

Within the context of this paper, the term ignorance

embraces more than the ordinary meaning of the term. It includes that state of relative paucity of knowledge (which within the given society may already be regarded as wisdom) arising from a low level of economic and social structures; in other words, relative ignorance in comparison with achievements in the intellectual field in the wider world at that given period of time. This intellectual underdevelopment progressively deepened and acquired new characteristics during the centuries of Spanish colonialism such that even new inputs of information and tolerated cultural activities only nurtured in most educated colonials ideas that actually impeded their escape from their intellectual captivity.

What is worse is that in due time, under a more sophisticated colonialism, the people acquired a distorted picture of their own reality, a warped sense of values and a way of life not consistent with their economic status. Sadly, they even came to believe that with their westernized tastes they were better educated and generally better off than most of their Asian brothers. The lack of racial pride produced an inferiority complex towards their conquerors whose every way they tried to ape while they adopted a condescending attitude towards their neighbours who had not become Christians nor westernized and who retained their native culture and identity.

In the Philippines, the development of ignorance, from a state of relative lack of knowledge to the glorification of intellectual accomplishments that did not relate to a deepening perception of their social reality but on the contrary perpetuated peripheral thinking that concealed reality, had its historical origins in the consecration of ignorance as a virtue in a Catholicized Philippines under friar rule and was carried to its full flowering under the American occupation. The Spanish legacy of ignorance made it easier for the Americans to carry out their own process of mis-education.²⁸ During the greater part of Spanish rule, knowledge except that provided in carefully limited doses by the friars was disdained. The people were discouraged from

thinking for themselves; a thirst for learning was considered dangerous and subversive.²⁹ Trained to obey and to follow, and mindful of the misfortunes that befell the poor *indio* who, using his reason, questioned however timidly the decisions of someone in authority, the people later transformed this training and fear into a conviction that one should allow one's social and economic superiors to do the thinking for the community. One's betters eventually included, besides the Spanish officials and the friars, those members of the local elite or *principalia* who were by then benefitting from colonial rule. I shall pursue further on in this paper the development of ignorance on the elite level and its impact on the people.

THE CONNECTING THREAD

Beneath the shroud of ignorance which enveloped Philippine intellectual life, the beginnings of a counter-consciousness nevertheless began to emerge. Repression could not but generate its own reaction. Despite the growing hold of the dominant colonial consciousness, the revolutionary instinct of the people manifested itself in a series of actions which conventional observers have viewed as disconnected events although they were in reality assertions and dialectical progressions of the consciousness that was emerging.³⁰ We shall now follow the growth of this counter-consciousness which manifested itself in various forms of resistance only to recede at each instance into the matrix of colonial consciousness because of unripe conditions and other factors, but which nevertheless became part of mass memory and therefore part of the Filipino tradition of struggle.

The history of the Filipino people and hence the growth of their consciousness and the attainment of national awareness is primarily the history of their struggles against colonial oppression. These struggles constitute the connecting thread in the history of the people. They exhibit their own dialectical development beginning from a low level in

the earliest risings and reaching a climax in the Philippine Revolution of 1896.³¹ The emergence of national consciousness during the Revolution was inextricably connected with a series of leaps in intellectual awareness of political issues engendered not only by common grievances against oppression but also by the development of a tradition of struggle stored in the racial memory. In the beginning, these revolts were only instinctive reactions against the colonizers, the products of an incipient but developing counter-consciousness in separate communities. Although these struggles were for limited ends and did not seriously challenge the framework of colonial society, there occurred in the course of each revolt a heightening of consciousness which temporarily politicized the people. Each local action became part of the revolutionary tradition. When finally economic development had set in motion its own unifying influence, these forms of limited consciousness which had grown through centuries of accretion were transmuted into a national consciousness the culminating expression of which was the national revolution of 1896 when identity and consciousness became a unity.

EARLY RESPONSE

Not counting the attempts by a few communities to repel the Spanish intruders on initial contact, we may say that the earliest resistance of the people to Spanish colonization was characterized by nativism.³² The underlying causes of the great majority of the early revolts were the tribute with its cruel method of collection, and forced labour. The tribute constituted a painful disturbance of the prevailing subsistence economy. The people were forced to produce a surplus to meet the demands of their conquerors or yield a part of what they themselves needed for their subsistence. Forced labour, particularly the conscription of work gangs to fell timber for the growing requirements of the Spanish navy, wrought much hardship on the population.³³ But because of their low level of consciousness and the

theocratic nature of Spanish colonialism, the people's protest against their material deprivation and physical oppression took a primitive and fantastic form, that of a revival of their old religions. Since the friars frequently invoked the awesome powers of their God, it was natural that the oppressed people should express their rebellion by pitting their old deities against the God of their conquerors. Prophets—usually *babaylans*³⁴ who had been dislodged by Catholicism—asked the people to return to their old forms of worship handed down by legend and preserved in the group memory. They claimed to have received new supernatural assurance that if the people returned to their old religion their gods would free them from tribute and forced labour, give them food in plenty and protect them from the weapons of the Spaniards.

In 1622, a *babaylan* of Bohol³⁵ reported the appearance of a goddess who promised the people a life of abundance without the burden of paying tribute to the government or dues to the churches if they would rise against the Spaniards and reject the Catholic religion. He urged the people to go to the hills and build a temple. Two thousand Boholanos revolted. They burned their villages and their churches, threw away all the rosaries and crosses they could find, and pierced an image of the Virgin Mary with their javelins. The revolt was smashed but not before the expeditionary forces had been fiercely attacked by 1,500 natives using a variety of native weapons.³⁶

A revolt in the province of Leyte³⁷ was led by an old chief who had received Legazpi in 1565 and had been baptized. Here, too, church property was destroyed and the rebels erected a temple to their *diwata* or god. Another Visayan revolt, this time on Panay island, occurred in the middle of the 17th century and was led by a man named Tapar. Tapar prophesied that if the people abandoned the Catholic religion and attacked the Spaniards, their god would help them in various ways. Mountains would rise against their enemies, Spanish muskets would not fire or if they did the bullets would not hit them, and in any case

any participant in the rebellion who did die could be sure of resurrection.³⁸

CATHOLIC FOOTHOLD

This revolt had one new characteristic which proved that by this time the Catholic religion had already made deep inroads into the consciousness of the people. Although he was calling for the rejection of the Catholic religion, Tapar adopted some of its features. He proclaimed himself God Almighty and designated from among his followers a Christ, a Holy Ghost and a Virgin Mary. He appointed popes and bishops. This practice of adopting the tenets and rites of the Catholic religion became more marked in later revolts. In the case of the Dagohoy revolt,³⁹ for example, the rebels practised all the Catholic rites except that they appointed some of their members to act as priests. This development finally led to the negation of the early nativism. In the revolt led by Apolinario de la Cruz in 1841, the demand was for equal status within the Catholic Church.⁴⁰ This new development will be discussed further on.

The early nativistic revolts were instinctual mass actions with weak theoretical guide posts. They were localized reactions to particular grievances against the impositions and exactions of the colonizers. Although they were anti-Spaniard, these revolts were not anti-colonial in the sense that there was as yet no awareness of the need to destroy the framework of colonialism itself. Nativism was not and could not be enough of a sustaining force. Moreover, the weak organizational structure of native society was no match for the superiority of Spanish arms and the psychological ascendancy which the friars had over a Catholicized population. The old religion was dying away in the face of the new which was supported by a coercive apparatus. After each revolt the people would sink into a state of quiescence once more, only to be goaded by the same abuses and exactions to rise again in one locality

or another.

Eventually, economic development would endow the rebellions with greater maturity and at the same time create the means for the experiences of one section of the country to be communicated to others. Slowly, all these struggles stored in the racial memory began to constitute a unifying force against colonial oppression. The people were becoming conscious of their unity as colonials.

ELITE PARTICIPATION

At this juncture we must take note of the two historical threads that together wove the fabric of a counter-consciousness which gave form to the vague protest of the earlier mass movements. One thread we have already followed part of the way: the development and transformation of revolts with religious content. Here the goals evolved from rejection of Catholicism to demands for equal status within the Catholic religion. The latter development was related to the growth of the native priesthood. The second thread that must be traced is the rise and ebb of elite participation in the people's revolts. The growing incidence of elite-led revolts was, paradoxically enough, one result of the transformation of the local chiefs into adjuncts of colonial rule. These chiefs or *principales* became the precursors of the elite in the national revolution.

I would like to discuss the second historical thread before continuing the discussion of the revolts with religious content because at a certain point of history the junction of mass and elite goals was clearly enunciated by the demands of the native clergy for equality. These demands in the clerical sphere were broadened into elite demands for reforms based on racial equality and justice and finally the latter were transformed into revolutionary demands by the masses for independence.

In the early struggles, whole barangays⁴¹ acted as one; chiefs and *babaylans* may have led the actions but their motives and goals were not differentiated from those of their

kin followers. This unity within the barangay would however be slowly undermined by the techniques of colonialism which deepened the stratification within the local communities, thus hastening the formation of classes in colonial society.

The Spaniards assigned to the chiefs certain duties of administration, the most important of which were tribute collection and the organization of forced labour. By becoming executors of colonial policy they were inevitably taking the first steps towards differentiation from the rest of the community.⁴² Since the colonizer made the chiefs answerable for any uncollected tributes, this forced many of them to extract payments any way they could. The more unscrupulous naturally extracted more and pocketed the balance. There was also profit to be gained from the organization of *polistas*⁴³ for public works and ship-building. The colonial power also won over the chiefs by granting them certain privileges. The term *principales* applied to the chiefs and their families underscored their special place in the hierarchy and set them apart from the people.

Initially, it was easier to win over the chiefs in the more developed barangays around Manila where stratification was more marked. An example is the case of Kakandula, a chieftain of Manila, whom the Spaniards rewarded for his loyalty by granting him and his descendants exemption from tribute and forced labour. When after Legazpi's death the new governor withdrew these privileges, Lakandula threatened to revolt. He was mollified by the restoration of his privileges and by a promise of better treatment for his people. Lakandula remained a loyal subject and even aided the Spaniards in driving out the Chinese invading force of Limahong.⁴⁴

The Spanish-Dutch wars in the 17th century increased the demands on the material and human resources of the colony. Exploitation was intensified. This provided the chiefs with the occasion to enhance their economic status by taking advantage of the opportunities open to them as

minor officials in the colonial administrative structure. Thus the period of intense exploitation of the native population was also the period of accelerated consolidation of *principalia* control. The war emergency strengthened pre-conquest relations of dependence akin to debt peonage and share cropping.⁴⁵ Delegated to the chiefs as usual, the job of requisitioning supplies and recruiting manpower proved lucrative. The chiefs often pocketed part of the wages of *polo* labourers, and others who did not want to be conscripted paid the chiefs for *polo* substitutes. If they had no money, they borrowed at high interest rates from the local chief and became his dependents, thus laying the basis for present land tenure patterns.

Wealth and a growing consciousness of importance led some of the chiefs to nurture ambitions of seizing power for themselves outside the colonial framework. Thus the middle of the 17th century saw the emergence of a new stage, a new pattern of native resistance. The nativistic revolts which involved entire communities without regard to social strata gave way to struggles in which chiefs took advantage of mass unrest to advance their own interests. Some of them now made good use of their position as colonial intermediaries by exploiting the grievances of their followers to extract concessions for themselves from the Spaniards. Although the chiefs had by this time definitely become participants in the exploitative process, the people continued to follow them, though sometimes grudgingly. Traditional respect for the chiefs was reenforced by Spanish inculcation of feudal values with emphasis on the acceptance of a hierarchical society. The people were constantly exhorted to obey their betters.

A REVISIONIST VIEW OF CELEBRATED REVOLTS

While the masses were gaining more experience and education in struggle, these struggles would now be undermined by the personal motivations of the chiefs. Whenever the sufferings of the people from colonial abuse reached

a peak which made the outbreak of violent resistance imminent, some chief or other would take over the leadership for the purpose of installing himself as the new authority in place of the Spaniards. He thus made use of the people's libertarian impulses to satisfy his personal ambitions.

The uprisings in the 17th century of Francisco Maniago in Pampanga, Andres Malong in Pangasinan and Pedro Almazan in Ilocos were typical examples of revolts led by *principales*.⁴⁶ Because these chiefs shared though to a lesser extent the grievances of the people, it was possible for them to make common cause with the masses. But since the native elite had acquired through their association with Spanish officials a taste for power, wealth and high titles, revolt meant for them something more than the eradication of Spanish oppression.

In his letters to other chiefs asking for their cooperation in driving away the Spaniards, Maniago did not forget to mention that once their common goal was accomplished, they would choose a king of their own. Malong proclaimed himself king of Pangasinan and conferred upon his right hand man the title of count. Almazan, a very rich chief who led the revolt in Ilocos, had himself crowned king of his province and made his children princes. These were early manifestations of the desire of the native elite to supplant the Spanish rulers whom they were beginning to regard as impediments to their own growth.⁴⁷

In terms of the nature of the grievances, the goals and conduct of the uprising, and the outlook of its leaders, the Pampanga revolt showed most clearly the consequences of colonization on native society. By the middle of the 17th century, the Pampangos had already had a long history of cooperation with the colonizers. Pampanga was the traditional supplier of foodstuffs for Manila; Pampango⁴⁸ soldiers were in great demand for putting down revolts in other regions; other Pampangos served as rowers in the Spanish fleets or were conscripted to build the galleons. Conscription and provisioning—both profitable enterprises—

were handled by the chiefs. They were also the beneficiaries of the increased production which Spanish demands stimulated. Objective conditions therefore bred in the Pampango elite a deeper colonial-mindedness than in the *principalias* of less prosperous places. This would be graphically demonstrated in the conduct and resolution of the uprising of 1660.⁴⁹

Paradoxically, the relative prosperity of Pampanga and the high regard in which Pampango soldiers and workers were held by the Spaniards brought about a temporary junction of the grievances of the *principalia* and the people. The war against the Dutch⁵⁰ intensified military conscription and the forced labour for timber cutting and shipbuilding. Moreover, to provision the Spanish fleet and the garrisons, each province was assessed a given amount of rice that it had to sell to the government at a low price.⁵¹ Being one of the favoured suppliers of goods and services, Pampanga was particularly hard hit. Forced labour and military conscription did not adversely affect the *principales* but the rice assessments did, not only because the government fixed a rate much less than the market price but because the government did not pay for most of what it took. When the "revolt" occurred, the government owed the Pampangos 200,000 pesos.

Although the people and the *principales* had common grounds for revolting, the fundamental division between the native elite and the people which colonialism had created made it possible for the Spanish governor to subvert the leadership of the uprising. The chiefs had become used to manoeuvring between the people and the governing power. In this instance they used the people as a bargaining lever and abandoned their cause in exchange for honours and other benefits. The Spanish governor played off one chief against another, giving preferential treatment to some in order to make the others envious. In the end, the Pampango chieftains accepted a partial payment of 14,000 pesos on the 200,000 pesos due the province, declared that their people had forced the revolt on them, promised to disarm

their men, and asked for two garrisons to protect them from the people of Pangasinan whom they had previously induced to join them in revolt.⁵²

This type of leadership emerged in clearer perspective in Diego Silang of Ilocos who is until today uncritically accepted as one of the heroes of the Filipinos' long struggle for freedom. The facts prove otherwise. Silang's public career began with his demand that since the Spaniards could no longer protect the people, he be allowed to head an Ilokano army financed by public funds to defend the region against the British.⁵³ He warned his fellow Ilocanos that British domination could result in the loss of their Catholic religion. During the first phase of his career, he was in effect conducting a "revolt" in defence of King and Church. He was against heavy taxation and abusive Spanish officials and for greater autonomy, all *principalia* demands, which were to be achieved with him at the head of the province in the service of the Spanish king and in defence of what he called "our sacred Catholic faith." But he was rebuffed by the Spaniards and when he was excommunicated he lost the support of many *principales*. This marked the second phase of his career. During this period, when he abolished tribute and forced labour, confiscated the wealth of the Church and other proprietors and began to move against members of his own class, Silang could have become a real leader of the people struggling against all oppressors. Unfortunately, he opted for compromise and shifted his allegiance from one master to another. In an opportunistic turn-about, he swore allegiance to King George III.⁵⁴

Silang was the prototype of many future Filipino leaders who would articulate the genuine grievances of the people only to give up the struggle at the first opportunity for compromise. Though the people would find themselves repeatedly used and even betrayed by such leaders, their experiences were not a total loss. Participation in actions like these revolts made them aware of their strength and gave them an education in struggle. Each succeeding uprising was a step in their political awakening. Each local

revolt was a contribution to national consciousness and national identity.

THE RELIGIOUS THREAD

By the middle of the 18th century, the masses were already becoming acutely aware of their economic exploitation by the religious. Economic injustices perpetrated by the Church such as land grabbing, charging exorbitant rents, and subjecting tenants to cruel restrictions in the use of church lands provoked agrarian uprisings in the Luzon provinces of Bulacan, Batangas, Laguna, Cavite and Rizal.⁵⁵

The protest against the friars as economic exploiters later dovetailed with the demands of the native clergy for justice and equality. The latter, a new stage in the historical development of movements with religious content, found expression first in the fight for the secularization of the parishes and then in the demand for the Filipinization of the clergy.⁵⁶

The revolt led by Apolinario de la Cruz in 1841 was caused by the refusal of the Spanish friars to grant ecclesiastical recognition to the religious confraternity de la Cruz had established.⁵⁷ Earlier, racial discrimination had frustrated his own clerical ambitions. Revolts with religious content had thus become transformed into their opposites: from movements rejecting the Catholic religion to protests against being denied status within the Catholic hierarchy.

Considering the importance of religion in colonial society and the preeminent position of the priests in the community, it is not surprising that the discrimination against the native clergy contributed greatly to the general ferment. Moreover, one should not overlook the fact that since the priesthood was one of the best channels for prestige and economic stability—if not affluence—the dearest ambition of most families was to have a son become a priest. Thus the demand for equal status within the Church became an important part of the general demand

for equality and justice. The discontent among the local clergy became fully integrated into the national ferment when three Filipino priests, Gomez, Burgos and Zamora, were unjustly accused of complicity in the Cavite mutiny of 1872 and publicly garroted. Their martyrdom provided a potent emotional rallying point for the nation a-borning.⁵⁸

ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION

At this point it is essential to discuss briefly the economic development and growth of the Philippines as the country responded to international economic trends and to changes in Spanish colonial policy, which changes were themselves responses to the shift in world economic power. The changing economic landscape of the period from the mid-18th century up to the revolution of 1896 produced a new type of local elite. Reacting to the new economic and social climate, these new leaders became the articulators of a developing counter-consciousness which incorporated the people's protests against colonial injustice and exploitation with the elite's demand for equality and for those rights which would allow their class to pursue its economic ambitions.

Emerging after her industrial revolution as the leader of world capitalism, England vigorously pursued a policy of political and economic expansion. The Spanish colonies were among the targets of British infiltration. The commercial activities of the British were an important factor in the opening of the Philippines to international trade.⁵⁹ Another factor was the modification of Spanish colonial policies.

Spain did not escape the profound material and ideological changes that were sweeping Europe at the time. This induced a rethinking of Spanish economic policy, producing systematic efforts to develop the agricultural resources of the islands and energetic attempts to widen the commercial contacts of the colony by opening direct trade

with Spain and removing many of the restrictions that had hitherto hampered trade with other nations. Spain made earnest efforts to encourage the production of export crops such as sugar, indigo, tobacco and hemp. By the 19th century, the Philippines had entered into the stream of world commerce and the economic life of the people underwent fundamental changes.⁶⁰

It was not the Spaniards, however, who were the prime movers and beneficiaries of the new economic development but the British and the Chinese. In fact, the Philippines was becoming an "Anglo-Chinese colony" despite the formal title of Spain. Chinese middlemen gathered native products from all over the country for the British traders and also became the conduits for the distribution of British goods to the provinces. The Chinese who also acted as middlemen for native producers, Spanish officials and friars, were primarily responsible for internal commerce; the British and other foreigners were active in export and import as well as in advancing capital to the Chinese traders who in turn financed the native producers of export crops.⁶¹

Since agricultural exports had become a thriving activity, agricultural land took on new importance. Government functionaries, the *principales*, and the Chinese middlemen themselves became interested in acquiring land. They took advantage of the fact that cash crops made small producers more vulnerable. Since they no longer planted food crops, small producers became more dependent on the Chinese middlemen who supplied them with their needs and to whom they sold their harvests. When crops failed or when they needed money for other reasons, there was no other recourse but to mortgage their lands in a *pacto de retroventa*.⁶² Many small landholders lost their lands in this manner either to the Chinese middlemen, to government officials or to local *principales*. Thus began the process of land consolidation.

But the Chinese could not take full advantage of economic developments because of official restrictions and the periodic outbursts of racial persecution to which the

Spaniards subjected them and which led to the expulsion of thousands of their number.⁶³ It was the Chinese *mestizos*, children of Chinese fathers and native mothers, who inherited the places vacated by the Chinese in the economy. Brought up by their native mothers, they blended well with the population. Soon they were competing with the Chinese in trading activities and after the last of the expulsions took over from them completely. When the Chinese were allowed back, the Chinese *mestizos* had already established themselves and although they gave up some of their trading activities to the Chinese, this only enabled them to concentrate on the expansion of their landed estates, particularly in Central Luzon.⁶⁴

INTELLECTUAL FERMENT

An economically dynamic group, the Chinese *mestizos* began to displace the local *principales* or linked up with them through intermarriage. As landowners and as creditors, they were influential in their regions and since they identified themselves with native society they were readily accepted as its leaders.

When liberalism gained ascendancy in the Spanish capital, it instituted new educational policies for the colony. The educational decree of 1863, besides establishing a system of primary education, opened the doors of higher institutions of learning to many natives. They could now study law, medicine or pharmacy. Prosperous Chinese *mestizo* and native families sent their sons to study in Manila and even abroad. These young men, the *ilustrados*,⁶⁵ became the disseminators of Spanish culture and liberal ideas and eventually the articulators of political protest.

Ferment sprang from diverse sectors of the population and was spurred by economic development and the dissemination of liberal ideas. There was the discontent of the *creoles* or Españoles-Filipinos who resented the preferential treatment given to the *peninsulares* in the matter of employment in government and rank in the army. These original Filipinos⁶⁶

felt that the Philippines was their country. They believed that they should have equal if not more right to official positions as the *peninsulares*. Their discontent caused many of them to gravitate toward the *ilustrados* whose families having prospered much were now chafing under the restrictions which the government continued to impose on them and which inhibited their further economic ascendancy. Now culturally Hispanized, the *ilustrados* also resented the superior attitudes of the Spaniards and demanded social equality.

Economic progress and the liberalized policies on education had increased the number of native priests. Finding themselves discriminated against, used mainly as coadjutors by Spanish friars and deprived of the more lucrative parishes, the native priests reacted with resentment. Discrimination sharpened their awareness of their separate national identity, a consciousness which was transmitted to their parishioners. They made common cause with *creole* clergymen. Thus the demand for Filipinization of the clergy became one of the rallying cries of the steadily growing sentiment of nationality,⁶⁷ with *creoles* accepting *indios* as Filipinos.

The growth of the concept of nationhood was co-terminous with the development of the concept of Filipino. From a term with narrow racial and elitist connotation (only for Spaniards born in the Philippines), Filipino began to include Chinese *mestizos* and urbanized natives whose economic ascendancy in the 18th and 19th centuries gave them the opportunity to acquire education and Hispanic culture. This made them socially acceptable to the *creoles* especially since progress had given both groups a common economic base to protect. Later, through their propaganda work, the *ilustrados*, offspring of this rising local elite, wrested the term Filipino from the *creoles* and infused it with national meaning to finally include the entire people. Thus the term Filipino which had begun as a concept with narrow racial application and later developed to delineate an elite group characterized by wealth, education and

Spanish culture finally embraced the entire nation and became a means of national identification. From then on the term Filipino would refer to the inhabitants of the Philippine archipelago regardless of racial strain or economic status.

Progress inevitably produced economic dislocations. Many small landholders lost their lands, the people suffered from rising prices aggravated by unemployment in those areas where native production could not compete with imported goods. For example, the weaving industry was wiped out as a result of the entry of cheap British textiles and caused much hardship among the people.⁶⁸ The fact of progress itself and their exposure to it made for greater discontent among those who saw what higher living standards were like. Economic development produced better communications and a national market, both of which made for greater cohesiveness and had the effect of facilitating the dissemination of protest, thus increasing its scope and intensity. The particular grievances of Philippine-born Spaniards, of the native clergy, of the Chinese *mestizos* and of the indigenous elite flowed into and swelled the stream of general discontent which finally found more or less systematic articulation in the writings of the *ilustrados*. All these separate grievances provided the medium for the development of a counter-consciousness.

For a better understanding of the configurations of this developing counter-consciousness it is necessary to advert briefly to the legacy of ignorance bequeathed by Spanish colonialism.

LEGACY OF IGNORANCE

In the discussion of elite ascendancy we must presume the development of a second level of the legacy of ignorance. Spanish colonial policy and friar control had kept the population in a state of relative ignorance for centuries. With the opening of schools to natives and the education of local priests, ignorance assumed two levels.

On the one hand, there was the ignorance of the masses who experienced no great change in their material lives despite the various upheavals. The isolation of rural life, the poverty of the peasants, and the ubiquitous friar influence effectively preserved an intellectual backwardness which matched their material stagnancy. There was no reason to learn except what was prescribed by the friars who closely supervised education in their parishes. Intellectual curiosity, a tendency to think for oneself, was viewed with suspicion and discouraged. The people learned that it was safer not to question and became accustomed to leave the thinking to their social superiors. Thus when an indigenous elite developed, they too were conceded by the masses the right to think for them.

The elite on the other hand, though they were eventually accorded the privileges of education and Hispanic culture and therefore gained from inputs of information and had vistas of a wider world, still suffered from a thinking that was circumscribed by the values of the colonizer. They, too, were discouraged from thinking "unthinkable thoughts". While they were becoming relatively better educated, in a real sense they remained ignorant because they saw reality in terms of their Hispanized upbringing. They looked at their society and people through the prism of colonial culture. Given their limited area of intellection, it is not surprising that their earlier goal was one of cultural assimilation. They tended to identify themselves with the Spaniards while at the same time resenting the social condescension with which they were treated. They were being admitted into the upper class and enjoyed a higher economic status, a fact which made them all the more conscious of the restrictions of Spanish and clerical power and made their inferior social status all the more galling. And yet, like the masses, they retained a feeling of inferiority, in their case because they were not wholly Hispanized. But whereas the elite resented the Spaniards' automatic presumption of superiority, they themselves took it for granted that they had the right to decide for

their country and to speak for the people. However, while they claimed to be the spokesmen of the people, they were to a large extent already alienated from them as they were also alienated from the Spanish colonizers although they still equated progress with Hispanization. This ambivalence was to survive through various historical epochs.⁶⁹

JUNCTION OF GOALS

The legacy of ignorance could not prevent the germination of ideas of protest but it seriously undermined their thrust and integrity as later developments would reveal. But for the moment, despite the flaws in the developing counter-consciousness, both elite and masses were being pushed by material conditions toward a national revolution. While the confrontation of economic interests between the elite class and the colonizers was the fundamental basis of their own discontent, they were also aware of the grievances of the people who from time to time had risen up in sporadic uprisings to protest their excessive oppression. Despite their affinity for Hispanic culture, the elite finally identified themselves with the people in whom they saw their source of support and strength. In articulating the outlines of a counter-consciousness, they put forward the liberal demands for equality and justice for the whole nation.

For their part, the accumulated experiences of past struggles and a growing awareness of national identity brought about primarily by the emergence of a national market made the masses ripe for a leap into a more unified and ideologically consistent movement where their limited consciousness, activated during times of crisis, was transformed into a dynamic revolutionary consciousness. Thus with the articulations of the elite and the instinctual actions of the masses there occurred a convergence of thought and action. The masses whose political growth was restricted by the prevalence of ignorance were politicized by the *ilustrados* who despite their own relative ignorance learned to use the tools of colonial education in the articulation of

thought and the formulation of demands. For a brief moment, the entire nation stood as one.

Among the rising elite, educational opportunities had activated a counter-consciousness which resulted in the articulation of protest and criticism of oppressive clerical and official policies. This articulation was basically reformist and assimilationist in nature since what the elite wanted primarily was better accommodation within the colonial system to enhance their economic interests and secure their social and cultural aspirations. Although their demands were still within the colonial system, their ideas could already be considered a counter-consciousness in the sense that these demands went beyond the limits of what the colonial power could grant. But a growing sense of racial identity no less than their liberal philosophy made the *ilustrados* widen their demands to reflect the abject conditions of the people and their age-old grievances and aspirations. The limited ends of the elite were encompassed in the broader goals of the people, a fact which gave the impression that they were the prime movers of revolution. But while it may appear that *ilustrado* ideas were the precursors of revolutionary thought, the fact was that the bedrock on which these ideas rested consisted of the countless struggles of the people, blind struggles, but expression nevertheless of their opposition to colonial rule. It is true that in these early struggles there was little thought of abolishing the colonial system as such, but still they were essentially anti-colonial actions because their objective was to drive the Spaniards away from their territory. Of course, such revolts did not encompass the entire nation although in several cases chain reactions greatly widened the area of an uprising. But since their actions were without any theoretical underpinning, the people were in fact resisting particular consequences of the system and not colonialism itself. Thus revolts were fierce but sporadic, disorganized and easily quelled by confrontation with superior force or by some minor and temporary accommodation. The people were in effect, fighting for certain limited or sectoral ends, therefore their

consciousness was also partial or limited.

THE NATIONAL REVOLUTION

The limited consciousness of both sectors—the elite and the masses—interacted and politicization of both led to a decisive rejection of reformism in favour of revolution when the lower middle class under the leadership of Andres Bonifacio⁷⁰ was able to synthesize the desires of the people into a forthright demand for the abolition of Spanish colonialism. We therefore see the dialectical connection between the instinctual actions of the masses and the reformist articulations of the elite resulting in the negation of the latter by a more politicized action of the people.

Both sectors were politicized by their contact and their joint struggle. On the surface it seemed that both were fighting hard for the goals that their new consciousness envisioned, central among them being the eradication of Spanish rule. The masses saw clearly the correspondence between the formulations of their leaders and their real aspirations. For the first time, they understood the need of a struggle on a national scale. Their partial consciousness was widened and they fought unswervingly against their oppressors. But the *ilustrados*, though they had been the articulators of national aspirations, ran true to the logic of their class and eventually compromised with the enemy in the Peace of Biak-na-bato. Their betrayal of the Revolution was all the more grave because they had taken over its leadership by a number of manoeuvres against its original leader, the steadfastly separatist Bonifacio, only to abandon the struggle in exchange for some very vague promises and a very real monetary settlement. After signing the pact of Biak-na-Bato, Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo added insult to injury by declaring the Revolution ended and branding as bandits all who would disobey him and continue fighting.⁷¹

But the people, already animated by the new consciousness, continued the struggle.⁷² Other regions were caught up

in the revolutionary tide. The pact of Biak-na-Bato was only valid insofar as a section of the elite leadership was concerned. Thus it is improper to divide the Philippine Revolution into two phases with the pact of Biak-na-Bato as the dividing line as some historians do. This over-emphasizes the role of the elite—of Aguinaldo in particular—and creates the impression that Aguinaldo could turn the Revolution off and on as he wished. Actually, the people were in unceasing struggle, with or without their elite leaders. Of course some of the leaders sided with the masses. These were the elements whose politicization remained high and whose patriotism was consistent.

ENTER THE AMERICANS

Precisely because the people had not given up the fight, there was a Revolution to return to when after the outbreak of the Spanish-American war Aguinaldo and his group sailed back from Hongkong through the courtesy of Admiral Dewey. Because of the lack of a common leadership for the countrywide movement, the compromisers of Biak-na-Bato were able to seize once more the direction of the Revolution. They had the *ilustrado* prestige which the masses continued to regard with lingering respect, and they had the connections since the Americans were dealing with them. The U.S. connection enhanced the importance of these leaders because they assured the people that the Americans were here to help them get rid of the Spaniards and would guarantee the independence of the country.⁷³ During the period when the Americans were biding their time while awaiting the arrival of a sufficient landing force, Filipinos everywhere, frequently in spontaneous actions without central direction, proceeded with the job of eliminating Spanish rule from their localities. By the time the Americans were ready to show their hand, the Filipinos were in control of practically everything except Manila. They had no inkling of the real objectives of their supposed friends, for the elite leadership continued to hail the

Americans as allies and protectors of Philippine liberty.⁷⁴

In retrospect, the story of Aguinaldo's dealings with the Americans seems to be an example of incredible naivete. Lack of experience played a part. There was also the very real prestige of the American Revolution and the Emancipation Proclamation which made the Americans appear to be champions of liberty. A particular aspect of Hispanic influence on elite consciousness probably also played its role—this was the reliance on the *palabra de honor*⁷⁵ of one's social equals or superiors. Since, in addition, Dewey and company (and assorted American consuls before them) accorded him the utmost courtesy, Aguinaldo must have felt that he could trust their verbal assurances, vague though they were, for they were gentlemen of high status and could therefore be relied upon to keep their word. But all this does not explain why Aguinaldo persisted in his conciliatory attitude when the Americans' treatment of their supposed allies changed markedly after the arrival of the U.S. Army contingent. Dewey's arrogant attitude towards Aguinaldo and the real reason for his outward affability toward his supposed allies are evident in this portion of his statement before the U.S. Senate:

"I knew what he was doing. Driving the Spaniards in was saving our troops. . . . Up to the time the army came, Aguinaldo did everything I requested. He was most obedient, whatever I told him, he did. I saw him almost daily. I had not much to do with him after the Army came."⁷⁶

Although Filipino troops bitterly resented the shabby treatment accorded them when the Americans refused to allow them to enter Manila after its surrender,⁷⁷ the leadership passively endured the affront. In fact, Aguinaldo continued to be conciliatory even after the actual outbreak of hostilities. The explanation for this incredible behaviour is to be found in the fundamentally vacillating and compromising character of the emerging leadership. As long as their preeminent position was assured, they were willing to settle for an ersatz independence under the protection

of the United States.⁷⁸ Initially swept up in the revolutionary tide and afraid to allow its leadership to slip out of their hands, they led the revolutionary forces, set up an independent government and drew up a constitution, but all the while they were moving towards a second *Riak-na-Bato*, a second abandonment of the people. In short, they fought the better to negotiate.⁷⁹ Military setbacks quickly discouraged them and soon their personal interests became paramount once more. Continued fighting would threaten their own property holdings with destruction; they themselves were unused to physical hardships. When the Americans began to dangle the possibility of accommodation within the new colonial set-up, the elite deserted the ranks of the Revolution in droves. Soon, the same personages who had been prominent under the Spaniards and had held high positions in the revolutionary government were cooperating wholeheartedly with the Americans and being appointed to high office. After Aguinaldo was captured he, too, quickly took his oath of allegiance and again tried to declare the Revolution ended. In a repeat of his *Biak-na-Bato* statement, he branded as bandits all those who continued to struggle.⁸⁰

THE NEW CONFRONTATION

A repetition of the Spanish experience was about to begin. The people were confronted by a new colonialism which after the initial subjugation by military force would likewise consolidate its control by remoulding the consciousness of the subject people. But whereas the Spaniards had encountered scattered, primitive communities, the Americans now faced a nation forged in revolution. The people were united and animated by a strong sense of purpose, their aspirations for freedom had been crystallized, their military successes against the Spanish colonizer had given them confidence. Their revolutionary consciousness had reached a peak of politicization and they were ready to do battle against this new invader to guard the freedom they had wrested from Spain. No wonder then that the new

colonizer was met with hostility in almost all regions of the country.

The Americans mounted a war of attrition against the population. The suppression campaigns inaugurated on Philippine soil many of the brutal techniques which revolted world opinion when they were used in Vietnam—the water cure and other tortures, the burning of villages and the massacre of entire communities, the policy of reconcentration which was the predecessor of Vietnam's strategic hamlets.⁸¹

The suppression campaigns waged by Brigadier General Jacob H. Smith in Samar and General Franklin Bell in Batangas clearly reveal that resistance involved practically the entire population. Gen. Smith ordered that every Filipino above ten years of age who did not collaborate actively with the Americans should be regarded as an enemy. An orgy of death and destruction followed in the wake of Smith's order to turn Samar into a "howling wilderness." General Bell's principal tactic for isolating the resistance fighters from the population that supported and shielded them was reconcentration. Before a certain date, everyone must move into a designated zone with all the food supplies and property that could be transferred. After the deadline, all property found outside the zone would be confiscated or destroyed and all persons caught outside the reconcentration area would be shot on sight or at the very least arrested and imprisoned.⁸²

The resistance groups led by Gen. Vicente Lukban in Samar and Gen. Miguel Malvar in Batangas were forces that continued fighting despite Aguinaldo's capture. But even after these generals finally laid down their arms, the U.S. Army and the Philippine Constabulary continued to be harrassed by resistance groups in different provinces, among them the New Katipunan movement of General Luciano San Miguel and Faustino Guillermo in Rizal and Bulacan, the guerrilla groups of Julian Montalan, Cornelio Felizardo and Macario Sakay in Rizal, Cavite, Laguna and Batangas, the forces of Simeon Ola in the Bicol region, and other smaller

bands in Pangasinan, Zambales and Isabela. The combined resistance forces of Montalan, Felizardo and Sakay formally established a Republic with Sakay as President and with a constitution patterned after that of the *Katipunan*. This was the biggest and best organized guerrilla group and it took 3,000 soldiers actively fighting for two years to destroy it.⁸³

Some resistance movements took on a quasi-religious character—the group led by Ruperto Rios in Tayabas (now Quezon), Felipe (Apo Ipe) Salvador's Santa Iglesia which had many faithful adherents among the poor and landless masses of Bulacan, Pampanga, Tarlac, Pangasinan and Neuva Ecija, the band of "Papa Isio" (Dionisio Magbuelas) in Negros, the *pulajanes* of Cebu and Leyte and the *Dios-Dios* of Samar. Although these groups did not have clear political programmes, they were all fighting for independence. Because of their largely peasant following, the demand for land became an integral part of their fight for freedom.⁸⁴

Although the colonial government branded the leaders of all these resistance groups as bandits or madmen, the fact is that despite their organizational and ideological weaknesses they could count on the devoted support of thousands of Filipinos. Ultimately, however, the superior might of the aggressor triumphed over a just emerged nation which had found little time for consolidation. Still, it took the U.S. Army almost a decade to quell serious resistance and even then, tension was such that the authorities were always on the look-out for new outbreaks of unrest. The masses were still restive, still responsive to any movement that rekindled in their hearts the revolutionary spirit of the old *Katipunan*.

To crush this spirit, or at least to contain any expression of nationalism, the Americans found it necessary to pass the Sedition Law of 1901, the Brigandage Act of 1902 and the Flag Law of 1907. The Sedition Law imposed the death penalty or a long prison term on anyone who advocated independence or separation from the United States even by peaceful means. It also punished with imprisonment any person who would "utter seditious words or speeches,

write, publish or circulate scurrilous libels against the U.S. government or the Insular government." This provision was used to arrest journalists, playwrights and other writers who dared to voice their dissent even in the most veiled manner. The Brigandage Act classified guerrilla resistance as banditry and branded resistance fighters as *ladrones* (thieves). It punished mere membership with death or with a prison term of at least twenty years. Persons caught "aiding or abetting brigands" drew prison terms of not less than ten years. The Flag Law prohibited the display of the Philippine flag from 1907 to 1919.

But it was not only sheer superiority of arms and legal strictures that finally subdued the people and made them accept American rule. While the suppression campaigns were going on, the Americans initiated policies calculated to erode the new revolutionary consciousness of the Filipinos. The logical agency to carry out this process of erosion was the Filipino elite and the weapon was public education, or more accurately, miseducation.⁸⁵

DEFILIPINIZATION

There was, therefore, a confrontation between two forms of consciousness at this time: a foreign one, and the newly developed Philippine revolutionary consciousness which welded the people into one fighting force. Although their comprehension of the issues was superficial, for that historical moment the people possessed a revolutionary consciousness. It was this consciousness that made them continue the struggle long after the *ilustrados*, in keeping with their limited goals, had abandoned them and entered into complicity with the new masters.

At this point, it may be useful to categorize the salient features of this mass revolutionary consciousness born of the Revolution against Spain, to evaluate its strengths and weaknesses, to note in what ways it followed and in what ways it differed from *ilustrado* consciousness so as to understand the reactions of the people to the subtle

policies of the United States.

The people now believed passionately in independence. They saw it as the cure-all for all the ills that plagued them—the abusive and corrupt Spanish official, the cruel local police or *guardia civil*, the overbearing friar. Independence was also seen as the solution for land hunger and poverty. Peasants demanded the confiscation and partitioning of the friar estates which extended into the hundreds of thousands of hectares. But the people had no clear-cut social and economic concepts for the society they would build in freedom beyond the general ideals of brotherhood and equality preached by the Katipunan. For their part, the *ilustrado* leaders of the Revolution saw in independence the opportunity to take over from the Spaniards. Although they associated themselves with the slogans of liberty, equality and fraternity and representative democracy, authoritarian attitudes remained strong. They believed that control should remain firmly in *ilustrado* hands. Despite the strongly anti-friar feelings of the people, the Malolos Congress included in its draft of the Constitution for the young Republic a provision for the union of Church and State. This provision was defeated by only one vote.⁸⁶ Another indication of elitist consciousness was the provision which limited suffrage to the leading citizens of the towns. But the worst betrayal of the people's interests was the Malolos government's handling of the friar lands question. The government confiscated the friar estates, but instead of distributing the land to the tillers it passed a law giving "men of means" and "local chiefs" the opportunity to administer these estates upon presentation of security in cash or in bond.⁸⁷ Of course, the Malolos government was too short-lived for its policies to take effect. This may have been the principal reason why the people did not seem to be aware that the government that spoke for them did not really represent them. They were too busy driving away the Spaniards and then resisting the Americans. They supported the Aguinaldo government as long as it existed because it had become for them the symbol of their separate national existence. Still

under the influence of Spanish values despite their higher level of consciousness, they continued to regard the *ilustrados* as the natural leaders of the country.

Thus, when the elite began going over to the American side, there was disillusionment and disapproval but there was also confusion and a feeling of uncertainty among some sectors of the population about the right course to follow. While the masses did rally to new leaders from their own ranks, there was no general and clear-cut condemnation of the elite who had abandoned them.⁸⁸ This facilitated the use of the elite by the Americans to propagate the myths about American benevolence and altruism. Demoralized by the death or capture of their own resistance leaders, exhausted by the unequal struggle, the people's limited politicization was eventually overcome by the forces of the mind which were the products of centuries of colonialism. The masses gradually settled down to their old quiescence and once again followed their "superiors." To their credit, they had conclusively demonstrated that they had greater capacity for endurance and steadfastness to the ideals of the Revolution.

The Americans set in motion the process of gradually negating the revolutionary consciousness of the Filipino people, for this evolving consciousness was subversive of colonial rule. The consciousness born of the Revolution had to be remoulded along lines that would provide the underpinnings of the new colonialism. The question of national identity had to be reworked, for the newly emergent Filipino had to be transformed once more into the colonial Filipino. Absorbed into the system, the elite were fairly quickly Americanized through colonial education. They were accommodated within the economic hierarchy and thus given a vested right in the new régime. Their armed resistance destroyed by the brutal application of force, the people were gradually brought within the framework of the colonial establishment by the persuasive powers and propaganda efforts of the elite and by a combination of policies of coercion and attraction developed by the new

rulers.

SEPARATION OF IDENTITY AND CONSCIOUSNESS

Filipino identity and consciousness now faced a concerted threat from the new colonizer. The colonial traits inculcated by the Spaniards—the legacy of ignorance, superstition, hierarchical values—all these still existing beneath the surface of the dynamic new revolutionary consciousness provided the new conquerors with a convenient basis for imposing their own norms. The counter-consciousness that animated the struggle for independence had hardly developed into a new consciousness before that consciousness was again being modified to suit the needs of a new colonial system.

It is at this point that one begins to discern a growing separation between identity and consciousness. The counter-consciousness that was the product of struggles against oppression produced a distinct national identity which marked the emergence of a nation committed to a separate destiny and passionately defending its right to independence. American pacification efforts and miseducation redirected energies of the new nation towards peripheral objectives by imbuing the Filipino with a new colonial consciousness, an Americanized consciousness which caused the dynamic revolutionary consciousness to be diluted and eventually to recede. Admiration for and collaboration with the new colonizer became the hallmarks of the new consciousness. Although identity remained, once deprived of its base in counter-consciousness it was reduced to a mere geographical category. As the Americanization process operated more and more pervasively over the years, attempts to search for the Filipino identity (or the so-called Filipino "soul") would periodically surface. But all such moves were to prove ineffectual because the colonial power and Americanized Filipinos, by subtle pressure and well-directed encouragement, managed to channel these nationalist impulses toward peripheral cultural aspects so as to prevent the growth of a counter-consciousness which alone could restore

to identify its dynamic content and which would necessarily oppose American colonialism.

Three aspects of educational policy were particularly efficacious in advancing the process of Americanizing the Filipino consciousness: the institution of a nationwide public school system, the use of English as a medium of instruction, and the distortion of the history of the early American occupation in conjunction with the glorification of the American way of life, its heroes and institutions.

Like the Spaniards, the Americans used the Filipino elite as conduits of colonial policy, but unlike the Spaniards, they broadened the base of their influence by including wider sections of the population in the educational process. Religion which had been the main instrument of Spanish control of consciousness gave way to education as the means by which the Americans remoulded the Filipino mind. This shift, however, did not negate the religious legacy of the Spaniards. In fact, the Vatican quickly accommodated itself to the situation and the influx of American priests soon made the Church once more a part of the colonial establishment,⁸⁹ though not to the same extent as in Spanish times.

Education had been one of the demands of the people under the Spaniards. Granted by the Americans, it gave the new conquerors an image of altruism. Little did the people know that the public school system was initially conceived as a tactic of pacification and worked throughout the American occupation as a subtle technique of control.⁹⁰

The use of English as a medium of instruction made possible the introduction of an American public school curriculum. With American textbooks, young Filipinos began learning not only a new language but a new culture. Education became miseducation because it began to de-Filipinize the youth, taught them to regard American culture as superior to any other, and American society as the model par excellence for Philippine society. These textbooks gave them a good dose of American history while neglecting their own. Such aspects of Philippine life and history as

found their way into later school material naturally had to conform to the American viewpoint since the whole educational system was highly centralized and whereas other departments were Filipinized much earlier, the head of the Department of Education until 1935 was an American.⁹¹ This fact underscores the importance the colonizers gave to the question of education.

Not only was English the medium of instruction, competence in English became the basis for opportunities for employment and promotion in government and in private firms. Within a few years, civil service examinations were being conducted only in English.⁹² Knowledge of the language opened the door to cultural penetration and of course facilitated the transformation of the Filipino into a consumer of American goods. The products of the public schools, government employees, professionals, small businessmen and white collar workers soon became proselytizers for the new consciousness.

Within two decades, the prediction of T.H. Pardo de Tavera, one of the early collaborators, was fulfilled. In a letter addressed to General Arthur MacArthur, Tavera had written:

"After peace is established, all our efforts will be directed to Americanizing ourselves, to cause a knowledge of the English language to be extended and generalized in the Philippines, in order that through its agency the American spirit may take possession of us, and that we may so adopt its principles, its political customs, and its peculiar civilization that our redemption may be complete and radical."⁹³

The universality of education made it a powerful factor in Philippine society. It has been said that "A single generation of English education suffices to break the threads of tradition and to create a nondescript superficial being deprived of all roots."⁹⁴ And in the case of Filipinos, they were already an uprooted race under the Spaniards. Unfortunately, the educational system was not geared to produce citizens who could be useful within the context

of the economically backward conditions of the country. The few who managed to get this higher education were integrated into the nascent middle class as government employees and other types of white collar workers, as professionals and as small merchants. This expanding middle class together with sections of the peasantry in periods of quiescence became the storehouse of petty bourgeois values. Consumerism became the obsession of the middle class as the urbanization of their life and thought became one of the central concerns of colonial society. They suffered a progressive erosion of their libertarian aspirations as they absorbed the acquisitive spirit and became avid consumers of automobiles, household appliances, fashion etc. Those in the rural areas who because of poverty or other reasons had to drop out from school remained peasants or joined their counterparts in the towns and cities, there to eke out a living as marginal employees, casual labourers or as members of the lumpen proletariat. They too were carriers of petty bourgeois attitudes.

American control of the educational system made possible the distortion and suppression of information regarding Philippine resistance to American rule and the atrocities committed by the American army to crush that resistance. The leaders of resistance groups were maligned and branded as bandits.⁹⁵ Memories of this period gradually faded as new generations emerged brainwashed from the schools. Through the alchemy of miseducation, the Americans were transformed from conquerors to solicitous friends and the history of this period was distorted to favour the colonizers. The Philippine Revolution was presented as a protest against Spanish abuses while the war against the Americans was glossed over and minimized. The Americans were made to appear as accidental visitors who out of a spirit of altruism accepted the burden of educating the Filipinos. The independist goal of the Revolution and of the resistance to American occupation had to be played down, for a new concept was being inculcated into the Filipino consciousness—that the Filipinos were not ready to govern themselves and

therefore had to undergo a period of tutelage in democracy and self-government before they could qualify for an independent existence. When they deserved it, their mentor and friend would grant them this gift. The revolutionary ideal of independence was transmuted into a gradualist goal. The nation was being accustomed to rely on the crutch of American tutelage.

Even the Filipinos' admiration for Jose Rizal⁹⁶ was used in the moulding of the desired colonial consciousness. The Americans encouraged a cult of Rizal, made him the official national hero, allowed celebrations of his birth date and the anniversary of his death, permitted an important province to bear his name and his statue to be erected in Manila's principal park. By exalting Rizal, they were in fact down-grading revolutionary heroes like Andres Bonifacio. Jose Rizal was a safe hero. He condemned the Revolution and refused to join it; he was a reformist and a great believer in education; and most important, he was shot by the Spaniards in 1896 and therefore had nothing to do with the Americans. His martyrdom at the hands of the Spaniards was the best example of Spanish bigotry and injustice. The Americans shrewdly allowed the expression of anti-Spanish, particularly anti-clerical, feelings as an outlet for Filipino nationalism. This focus on Spanish abuses and errors made the Americans seem better in the eyes of Filipinos. After all, there were no more domineering friars and arrogant *señores*; instead, the Americans appeared as benevolent tutors, friendly and democratic.

Education and cultural domination were subtly instituting a form of thought control in the name of democracy and altruism. As Americanization proceeded to make inroads into the Filipino consciousness, it did so at the cost of de-Filipinization, the erosion of the gains in consciousness achieved during the revolutionary period. The question of identity became more blurred as colonizer and colonized were pictured as being welded in a common undertaking—that of preparing the nation so that it would be deserving of independence.

A NEW AWARENESS

Little by little, the people came to accept the idea of a gradualist path to independence. Like their leaders, they were beguiled by concepts of democratic participation and becoming corrupted by the new politics which thrived on patronage and ignored real issues. But unlike their leaders who while still mouthing the slogan of immediate independence were already becoming afraid of the economic consequences of freedom (principally the loss of free trade and preferential entry of Philippine agricultural exports into the U.S.) the people still believed that independence was the key to the solution of their problems of poverty and exploitation. They therefore supported political leaders who promised to obtain that independence from the United States but at the same time, when economic problems became particularly pressing in certain regions, the people readily followed other leaders who raised the banner of rebellion. Grinding poverty, high taxes, usury, greater exploitation of tenants by *hacenderos* eager for higher rates of profit on their agricultural exports to the U.S., the frustration of the tenants' hopes of acquiring plots of their own, dispossession of poor farmers through land-grabbing, fraudulent titling and other legal trickeries employed by the rich and the politically powerful—all these formed the backdrop for an upsurge of peasant unrest in the 1920's.

Movements led by self-styled messiahs, secret societies with roots in the Revolution and revivals of old organizations such as the *pulajanes*⁹⁷ and the *colorums*⁹⁸ burst upon the scene all over the archipelago. Although they were contemptuously dismissed by American officials and Filipino politicians as fanatical movements or plain banditry, they represented the blind groping of the masses for solutions to real and grave socio-economic problems.

Colorum groups appeared all over the country from Luzon down to Mindanao. Though organizationally unrelated to one another, they had two characteristics in common: religious fanaticism and a membership recruited from the

peasantry and the urban poor. However ridiculous some of their beliefs and practices were, one can discern beneath the melange of fanaticism and superstition the old goal of "bread and freedom." They worshipped Jose Rizal as a god who would one day return to earth and rule the Philippines. When this happened, the property of all non-*colorums* would be confiscated and distributed among the members. The biggest *colorum* groups were those of Samar and Leyte in eastern Visayas and Surigao and Agusan in northeastern Mindanao. Here several *colorum* towns rose in revolt and the government had to send a U.S. warship and Constabulary reinforcements to suppress the rebellion. The governor general showed that he recognized the nationalistic spirit that animated the *colorums* when he prohibited the display of any pictures of Filipino heroes in the public schools of Mindanao.⁹⁹

Other groups revealed more clearly the economic grievances of the peasantry and their desire for independence. A secret society in Neuva Ecija, the *Kapisanan Makabola*,¹⁰⁰ victimized by landgrabbers and exploited by *caciques*.¹⁰¹ Its plan of action was to attack the municipal building of San Jose and execute all town officials. Having set the example, the *Kapisanan* members believed that peasants throughout the country would likewise rise against their own officials. Independence would then be proclaimed, all landlords and all Americans would be expelled from the country, and all land would be equally apportioned among the poor.

Another such movement was the one led by Florencio Intrincherado, a flamboyant eccentric who gathered a following estimated at 26,000 spread through six Visayan provinces. Intrincherado's movement advocated equal distribution of wealth and declared itself against foreign control and high taxes.¹⁰²

Ideologically confused and poorly organized, these movements were doomed to failure.

In urban areas, more workers joined labour unions. Although the first union was established as early as 1902, it was not until the 1920's that unions began to emerge as a

significant and radical force projecting socio-economic goals. While some remained simply economistic, others now perceived with greater clarity the interconnection between their economic demands and the national goal of independence. They were beginning to see that the fight against exploitation must be combined with the struggle against colonialism. At this time, peasant unions were also being organized and since these unions were likewise led by radical leaders, a junction between workers and peasants was inevitable. The late twenties saw a great intensification of unrest and of organizational activity in both the peasant and labour fronts.¹⁰³ This was a reflection of steadily deteriorating conditions which would culminate in the worldwide depression of the early thirties.

With the depression, prices of basic export crops dropped drastically causing grave hardship on the peasantry. Many were evicted from land and home and those who continued working sank deeper into debt. Urban workers lost their jobs as businesses failed. Others suffered cuts in wages as employers passed on to them the greater part of their reverses. Organized peasants and workers mounted numerous strikes and other actions led by radical leaders, some of whom were members of the fledgeling Communist Party of the Philippines.¹⁰⁴

The principles of democracy which the Americans had made the touchstone of their proselytization process were now invoked by the people through their leaders who had been exposed to progressive thought from abroad, particularly the United States. Radical labour leaders came in contact with and were influenced by their counterparts in the United States. They became the articulators of new ideas which sought to clarify for the people the vital connection between colonialism and their poverty.

The depression drove the masses on the one hand to affiliation with radical organizations and on the other to outbursts of desperate and futile violence. The *colorums* of Pangasinan attacked the prosperous town of Tayug, seized from the municipal building tax records, land titles,

debt lists and tenancy contracts and burned them all in a bonfire at the plaza.¹⁰⁵ As in the Makabola uprising, this attack was supposed to ignite the whole of Central Luzon in a peasant revolution that would achieve independence and reward all its participants with lands confiscated from *caciques*. The principal objective of another group, the *Tangulan*,¹⁰⁶ was the attainment of independence through an armed uprising. To this end, leaders of local chapters began to make plans for local struggles to be set off by an urban insurrection in Manila. The Constabulary discovered these plans and arrested the group's leaders. The Asedillo revolt¹⁰⁷ in Southern Luzon had a strong base in the peasantry of that region. It advocated resistance to tax collections and declared that its goal was independence.

RADICALIZATION

The popular movement with the greatest immediate impact was the *Sakdal*. Its organ, published weekly in Tagalog, became the vehicle for bitter denunciations of the colonial establishment. The American governor, Senate President Manuel L. Quezon and other public officials, *hacenderos*, churchmen and the Constabulary were targets of criticism. *Sakdal* accused the leaders of the ruling political party of being the servants of the Americans and exposed the hypocrisy of the independence missions. It adopted the position that independence is not given but must be taken through the united action of the people. It ranged itself against the political and economic oligarchy and thus became the voice of all who disapproved of the *status quo*. On three subjects—education, American economic control and military bases—the *Sakdalistas* adopted positions that foreshadowed those of future protest movements. They branded the educational system as colonial and criticized school textbooks for glorifying American culture. They objected to the proposed establishment of American military and naval bases in the country after independence and charged that such bases would

benefit only the United States. They opposed further American investment and tried to make the people understand that the root cause of their poverty lay in the "American stranglehold" on the Philippine economy. Naturally, the *Sakdalistas* stood for "complete and absolute independence," the confiscation of large *haciendas*, and their redistribution to the landless. They also advocated state control of natural resources.¹⁰⁸

Here was an example of a developing counter-consciousness; its relative strength was demonstrated in the 1935 elections when as a third political party and despite continuous harrassment the *Sakdalistas* elected all three of their candidates to Congress, one provincial governor and various local officials in five provinces:

These electoral gains brought down more repression on the *Sakdalista* masses. The governor general had many *Sakdalistas* arrested and the Constabulary refused to give them permits for public assemblies. Angered, the *Sakdals*, numbering almost 60,000 peasants, revolted but were quickly overcome by the state forces.

Other more radical groups, the Socialist Party and the Communists, provided leadership to many collective protests in the farms and strikes in urban centres. They tried to raise the issue of American imperialism in conjunction with the issues connected with land and employment.¹⁰⁹ Politization of the masses was highest in the provinces of Central Luzon but although the leaders understood the relation between colonialism and mass poverty, too many of their followers were still animated principally by their grievances against the landlords.

The effect of the U.S. promise of independence at a future date cannot be minimized. This was a shrewd move the sincerity of which appeared to be substantiated by the fairly rapid Filipinization of colonial administration. The peasants in particular were confronted by Filipino landlords, Filipino local officials and a Filipino Constabulary. Thus the Americans did not appear to be protagonists in the drama. It was difficult to connect the policies of colonialism

with the immediate problems of the countryside. Too often, the masses saw only their immediate ruling class and its military arm as their enemies. The same was true though to a lesser extent in the urban areas. Hence, at this point a class consciousness seemed to be developing faster than an anti-colonial consciousness.

On the other hand, neither should we disregard the fact that despite the periodic falling back of peasant consciousness into the old conservatism, there remained oases of struggle principally in Central Luzon. Those who retained memories of past struggles were more easily activated by new sufferings and a new understanding of the causative factors of their oppression. This understanding was made possible by the infusion from urban centres of new ideas which linked the status of the masses with colonialism. Thus the thirties saw great advances in militancy particularly among the peasants and rural workers of Central Luzon and the unionized workers of Manila. Militancy spread to some other regions as well. From 1935 to 1940, the tempo of collective protests in farms and strikes in urban centres continued to intensify. Peasant and workers' Congresses, May Day parades with mass participation in the tens of thousands, rent strikes, rice demonstrations culminating in raids on landlords' granaries, marches to capital towns and to Manila to demand the expropriation of *haciendas* and their resale to tenants, protracted strikes in factories, sugar centrals and docks, sympathy strikes, sit-down strikes, refusal to harvest the landlord's share of the crop, the burning of sugar cane fields, and finally, violent confrontation with the private armies of landlords—all these were almost daily features of the newspapers of the time. They demonstrated a higher level of consciousness and organization derived from the accumulated experience of the past, from the sharper economic contradictions of the period, and from the higher ideological level of worker-peasant leadership.

COUNTERVAILING FORCES

However, a number of factors operated to limit and distort the growth of a militant counter-consciousness. Urban intellectuals had been initially responsible for the infusion of a coherent ideology into the mass movements. But the class which should have spearheaded the struggle should have been the working class sustained by the peasantry. However, in a colonial economy which imported most of its manufactured goods and exported its agricultural products in a raw state, the working class was small. There were few establishments employing workers in large enough numbers to induce collective action.¹¹⁰ Then, too, a significant number of workers were rural proletarians employed in sugar lands and sugar centrals. These were recruited from peasant families and a good number were only part-time wage workers. Moreover, part of the labour movement had from its inception been captured by politicians and opportunist leaders who used their organizations for political leverage and personal gain. As for the peasants, their obsession with land ownership and with the abuses of their landlords frequently obscured the larger issue of colonialism.

Among both groups, therefore, the most fundamental cause of their oppression—American colonialism—was insufficiently exposed. This impeded a deeper understanding of the real cause of their misery and limited the political significance of their collective actions. The growth of a counter-consciousness was hindered at every turn by the weight of miseducation and cultural Americanization. In the urban areas, cultural life was dominated by American imports. American movies, music and dances became primary influences. The initial cultural impulse of the Revolution had produced a number of revolutionary plays in the vernacular whose presentation was suppressed by the Americans.¹¹¹ Subsequently, literature in the vernacular was, with few exceptions, reduced to escapist romantic pap while the middle and upper classes produced literature in English

imitative of American models. Consumption habits and social values were shaped by American advertising. Of course, cultural Americanization had greater impact on the upper and middle classes but some seepage down to the *barrio* level did occur.

The hold of colonial consciousness was dramatically demonstrated during the Japanese occupation. The anti-colonial consciousness may have been obscured by the fact that the Americans were now allies in the anti-fascist war but still, other nations demonstrated that it was possible to fight the Japanese and then to refuse to accept the return of the former colonial master. The Filipinos fought the Japanese and waited for the return of the Americans to receive from their hands the gift of independence. Since they did not see the economic strings that made such an independence an illusion and since the idea of waiting for this grant had been so deeply inculcated, it did not occur to them to seize freedom for themselves. In fact, the euphoria of "liberation" further deepened their Americanization as it gave fresh life to the old myth that the Americans had come as friends and benefactors.

MORE AMERICANIZATION

Cultural penetration received added impetus as Filipinos devoured the American cultural fare they had been deprived of during the Japanese occupation. Ironically, Americanization continued to seep down to the *barrios* through media which should be vehicles for the propagation of a Filipino identity: the radio, Filipino comics, Filipino movies and the national language. Philippine movies were often rehashes of American movies,¹¹² and the national language—though its growth despite all sorts of hindrances is to be cheered—did not serve its purpose either because it only widened the audience for American culture. Filipino comics were Filipino only in language, and radios made American song hits available to the remotest barrios, not to speak of jingles advertising American and other foreign goods. TV fare

followed the American pattern and, on stage, Broadway was a potent presence. Basketball players and film stars became the national idols of this Americanized society.

In many fields, there was very little original thinking. The Filipino had become largely imitative, seldom creative.¹¹³ Academic and technocratic policy makers were prisoners of American methods and norms. The standards of education were such that its products were more attuned to the needs of a developed country than to their own, hence the brain drain.¹¹⁴ Americanization manifested itself most harmfully in the myths that were deeply ingrained in the Filipino consciousness: that the United States is the land of opportunity and fair play, that the Americans come not as conquerors but as friends to give the Filipinos democracy, education, roads and sanitation and to train them in self-government so they would deserve independence, that after independence, the so-called special relations with the U.S. have been beneficial to the Philippines. Other subtly inculcated concepts: that American investments are indispensable to economic progress and that free enterprise is the only possible economic framework for democracy.

So deep was cultural Americanization and so little understood were the evils of economic dependence that it was difficult to develop a general counter-consciousness even when the material base for it already existed. Soon after the reoccupation, the United States forced the Philippines to grant Americans parity rights and other economic concessions by threatening to withhold war damage and rehabilitation funds. This shameless trading on the economic prostration of the country produced a protest movement against the reimposition of the colonial chains. But despite these blatant acts of the United States, despite an economy in chaos, and despite a partial resurgence of the revolutionary spirit as a result of the anti-Japanese struggle, the difficulties of unmasking imperialist techniques and projecting the concept of economic nationalism continued to prove insurmountable.

The difficulties remained. In fact, even the more

politicized sectors suffered to some extent from colonial reflexes. The idealization of foreign models and the pursuit of expertise in the national experience of other countries has not been restricted to those brainwashed by American education or those who have vested rights in the neo-colonial establishment. This impeded a deep understanding of local reality by those who were otherwise equipped for this task.¹¹⁶

Filipino consciousness under the Americans was a further deepening of the colonial consciousness that the Spaniards had implanted. This time, however, inputs of information and successful adaptation of American values gave the impression of positive development and improvement. In absolute terms, this new cultural level was an improvement in the sense that the people were able to benefit from wider contact with the world of ideas. But in relative terms, the new cultural development only produced variations in ignorance.

Among those who had more years of schooling, thinking was stunted not only because of the difficulties of learning a foreign language but also because education was not geared to national needs. Moreover, the new techniques produced by American education encouraged the importation of foreign techniques and foreign methodology which were hardly suitable to Philippine conditions. True, the literacy level improved under the Americans, but this literacy was also a form of illiteracy. Because of the imposition of a foreign language, the children of the masses, most of whom reached only grade school, were barely able to read and write. They could communicate only in the most rudimentary manner. This precluded any meaningful participation of the people in the business of government as envisioned in a real democracy. Functional illiteracy in English thus reinforced the belief inculcated by Spanish rule that government policy and administration should be left to the educated upper classes. And these classes in turn were so miseducated that they acquired a distorted view of national problems. Since by carefully restricting the privilege of

suffrage in the early elections the colonial administrators had already insured the retention of political power by the elite of each locality, the combination of all these factors rendered democracy meaningless and accustomed the people to the trappings of democracy minus its substance.

The appreciation of civil rights was very meagre. The people were too busy fighting for physical survival and, anyhow, they had not had much actual experience with this aspect of democracy. Even among those who constituted the intelligentsia and who appreciated their own civil liberties, there was not much concern over the constant violations of the civil liberties of others. To the Spanish legacy of sense the superiority over the people was added the selfish individualism characteristic of a free enterprise society.¹¹⁷

The Americans produced an ambivalent Filipino mind best illustrated by the consciousness of the middle class, ambivalent between the authoritarian attitudes and hierarchical concepts that were the Spanish legacy and the still insufficiently understood concepts of democracy and freedom. But within the contradiction between authoritarianism and democracy, counter-consciousness continued to germinate, between periods of dormancy it is true, but acquiring with each new stage of development a stronger conceptual framework of nationalism and democracy.

The factor that continually hampered its development was the absence of a visible foe because of the Americanization of consciousness. Even as basic a concept as economic nationalism was difficult to propagate because miseducation had effectively concealed the contradiction between colonizer and colonized, transforming the relation into that of friends with identical interests. Thus, reformists often confined themselves to fighting the oligarchic manifestations in Philippine society without determining the basis of this oligarchic rule and its connection with imperialist control. Those who understood the workings of imperialism found it difficult to tear away the mask of altruism behind which it operated because Philippine consciousness had been so effectively Americanized.

The emerging national consciousness born during the Philippine Revolution did not have a chance to grow as the subsequent actions of the Americans aborted its development and transmuted the consciousness bred by Spanish colonialism into the resultant contemporary crisis of identity. The erosion of the unity of identity and consciousness forged in struggle produced confusion, ambivalence and lack of definable goals. What remained was the rudimentary identity of nationhood, visibly activated during competitive sports events and international beauty contests. The national consciousness of 1896 which strongly motivated the people to struggle for independence and self-reliance receded as a result of the virus of subservience and dependence which were inculcated in the people's minds.

What, then, are the salient characteristics of contemporary consciousness?

A narrow range of social thought brought about by the educational system which produces men and women trained to accept American values and concepts. These borrowed concepts have circumscribed critical analysis of society thus further fostering the underdevelopment not only of economics but also of education and politics.

A vague loyalty to motherland but limited by concern over the feelings or reactions of the colonial power, an attitude that is being propagated by social scientists who over-emphasize the traits of gratitude and *pakikisama*¹¹⁸ in the social conduct of Filipinos.

Because of the lack of economic opportunities, a tendency to corruption in many phases of public and private activity.

Because of the lack of opportunities for advancement, a predisposition among professional and white collar workers to rely on "pull" rather than on merit.

The institutionalization of a culture that is alien in language, in direction and in content. This has replaced the *romanzas* and *corridos* of the Spanish occupation.

An escapist attitude following the American pattern and manifested in the elevation of pop artists and sports figures to the status of folk heroes.

A consumer attitude brought about by the colonial nature of the economy which has fed the petty-bourgeoisification of the masses. The important individual goal seems to be the possession of those items of consumption so successfully sold as needs to the people.

Minimal social concern except in the minor sense of charity and do-gooding. This is the product first, of the Spanish inculcated conviction that the elite should be conceded the right to make the decisions for the nation and second, for the individualism that is the legacy of American capitalism.

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Counter-consciousness is an indispensable weapon against the foreign influences that warp Philippine society. It can only become the new liberating consciousness when the Filipino once more takes up the struggle towards the completion of his identity—an identity which began to emerge in the days of the Revolution. Tragically, the Filipino lost himself as he was discovering his identity. Inasmuch as the two colonizers tried to control the Filipino by working on his consciousness, the Filipino must now discover himself in the realm of consciousness—that is, a consciousness that articulates its own economic, political and cultural aspirations and contraposes itself in an all-pervading consciousness that seeks to keep the Filipino people permanently integrated in a worldwide system that produces poverty, wars and degradation for the underdeveloped nations of the world.

NOTES

- 1 Cultural patterns and traditions which now interest many "revivalists" were in fact products of the Spanish colonial period. The term indigenous as used here refers to customs and practices that were uninfluenced by colonial values and not deliberately developed under Spanish sponsorship.
- 2 On the condition of Philippine inhabitants before the imposition of Spanish colonialism, see Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, "Relation of the Voyage to the Philippine Islands, 1565," in *The Philippine Islands 1493-1803*, edited and annotated by Emma Blair and James Robertson, (henceforth referred to as *BR*) Vol. II, p. 203 et. seq.; Miguel de Loarca, "Relation of the Filipinas Islands" in *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 39 et. seq.; Robert Fox, "Prehistoric Foundations of Filipino Culture and Society" in *Readings in Philippine Culture and Social Life* edited by Amparo Lardizabal and Felicitas Leogardo, Quezon City, 1970, pp. 35-36.
- 3 George H. Weightman, "The Philippine Intellectual Elite in the Post-Independence Period," *Solidarity* (January, 1970), p. 25; Robert B. Fox,

"The Prehistoric Foundations of Philippine Culture" *Ibid.* (February, 1968), p. 70. In the same article, Fox states: "Terms like 'kings', 'nobles', 'baranganic confederations', and so forth are singularly inappropriate when applied to the Philippines during pre-Spanish time." (p. 90).

- 4 On the misconceptions of the Spaniards regarding Islamic influences among the various tribes see Cesar Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, Quezon City, 1973, Chapters 2 and 3; on the eating of pork, the drinking of wine, etc. see the account of Antonio Pigafetta, "First Voyage Around the World," in *BR*, Vol. XXXIII.
- 5 Juan de Plasencia, "Customs of the Tagalogs," *BR*, Vol. VII, p. 173; Pedro de Chirino, "Relation of the Philippine Islands" in *BR*, Vol. XII, pp. 262-275.
- 6 The country comprises three broad geographic divisions: Luzon, the main island where the seat of government is located, the Visayas, a group of islands south of Luzon, and Mindanao, south of the Visayan islands. Mindanao, the second largest island, has remained relatively undeveloped despite Christian settlement in areas once dominated by Muslims. The Sulu archipelago comprises a series of small islands which connects Zamboanga in Mindanao with the northeastern part of Borneo. It separates the Sulu Sea from the Sea of Celebes. It is peopled by Muslims whose capital is Jolo. In all, the archipelago has over 7,000 islands, around 800 of which are inhabited.
- 7 The *conquistador*, Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, first settled on the island of Cebu in the Visayan chain. Here his few hundred men encountered difficulties because of the poverty of the people. He moved to another Visayan island, Panay, but this too proved inadequate. In search of a more viable location, the Spaniards moved to the island of Luzon and established themselves in Manila. See Nicholas P. Cushner, *Spain in the Philippines*, Hongkong, 1971, pp. 57-58.
- 8 *Reconquista* is the term used to designate the 800-year struggle of the Spaniards against the Moors who occupied the greater part of the Iberian peninsula until the fall of Granada in 1492. The Spaniards called the Muslims of the Philippines *moros* and regarded them with the same antipathy as their ancient enemies.
- 9 The Spaniards called the Christianized natives "*indios*", a term used for natives of lands they colonized in their efforts to control the spice trade of the Indies. Any Christianized native was called *indio* not only as a term of identification but also as a racist term to signify inferiority. James LeRoy, *Philippine Life in Town and Country*, New York, 1907, pp. 4, 25-26.
- 10 For lack of a more suitable term, native is used in this paper to refer to the inhabitants of the Philippines before they became Filipinos. See notes 64 and 66.
- 11 On the resettlement policies of the Spaniards, see Robert R. Reed, *Hispanic Urbanism in the Philippines: A Study of the Impact of Church and State*, Quezon City, 1967, Chapter 4. For the civil and religious connotations of the term *reduccion*, *Ibid.*, fn. p. 33.
- 12 On the two types of colonial administration, see Erich and Analee Jacoby, *Agrarian Unrest in Southeast Asia*, New York, 1949, pp. 30-32.
- 13 *Los Frailes Filipinos por un español que ha residido en aquel país*, Madrid, 1898, p. 59.
- 14 Marcelo H. del Pilar—*La Soberania Monacal en Filipinas*, Manila 1898, translated into English by Encarnacion Alzona and republished by the Philippines Historical Association, Manila, 1957; Donald Dean Parker,

- "Church and State in the Philippines—1565-1896," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Chicago, 1936; U.S. Congress, Senate, *Senate Documents*, Vol. 5, No. 112, p. 33. Discussions of the ubiquitous presence of the friars, the nature of education given to the Filipinos, and opinions of the reformists can be found in John Schumacher, *The Propaganda Movement, 1880-1895*, Manila, 1973, pp. 42, 57, 69, 151-153, 170, 218; Epistolario Rizalino, 5 v., Manila, 1933, Vol. III, pp. 136-137, Vol. V, pp. 523-524; Epistolario de Marcelo Del Pilar, 2 v., Manila, 1955, Vol. I, pp. 72-73; Cushner, *Spain. . .*, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-100.
- 15 Though written in fictional form, Jose Rizal's *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo* faithfully illustrate these friar techniques. (Translated into English by Charles Derbyshire, *The Social Cancer and The Reign of Greed*, Manila, 1956.) See also Rizal, "The Indolence of the Filipino," *Political and Historical Writings*, Manila, 1964, pp. 227-265.
- 16 "Reports of the Taft Philippine Commission," 56th Congress, 2nd Session; *Senate Documents*, Vol. 12, No. 2, pp. 25-26.
- 17 Domingo Abella, "The State of Higher Education in the Philippines to 1863—A Historical Reappraisal," *Philippine Historical Review*, Vol. I, No. 1.
- 18 Quoted in Jules Archer, *The Philippines' Fight For Freedom*, London, 1970, p. 16.
- 19 Bienvenido Lumbera, "Poetry of the Early Tagalogs," *Philippine Studies*, (April, 1968), p. 245.
- 20 Juan de Medina, *Historia de los sucesos de la Orden de N. Gran P.S. Agustin de estas Islas Filipinas*, Manila, 1893, p. 54.
- 21 Graciano Lopez Jaena, "Los indios de Filipinas," *El Liberal* (16 February, 1887), quoted by John N. Schumacher, *Propaganda. . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 57.
- 22 Jose Rizal, *El Filibusterismo en Filipinas*, quoted by John N. Schumacher, *Ibid.*, p. 421.
- 23 A penetrating study of the literary forms that flourished during the colonial period, their origins, limitations and transmutations can be found in the series of articles by Bienvenido Lumbera, "Florante at Laura and the Formalization of Tradition in Tagalog Poetry," *Philippine Studies* (October, 1967); "Tagalog Poetry During the Seventeenth Century," *Ibid.* (January, 1968); "Assimilation and Synthesis: Tagalog Poetry in the Eighteenth Century," *Ibid.* (October, 1968); "Consolidation of Tradition in Nineteenth Century Tagalog Poetry," *Ibid.* (July, 1969).
- 24 An extended discussion of this subject may be found in T.H. Pardo de Tavera, "The Heritage of Ignorance," *Thinking for Ourselves*, edited by Vicente Hilario and Eliseo Quirino, Manila, 1928, pp. 1-17.
- 25 Parker, "Church and State. . .", *op. cit.*, pp. 29-46; Marcelo del Pilar, *Soberania Monacal. . .*, *op. cit.*
- 26 Tavera, *Heritage. . .*, *op. cit.*, Lumbera, "Florante at Laura. . ." *op. cit.*, pp. 561-562.
- 27 One of the demands of the Filipino reformists of the 19th century was for the teaching of Spanish.
- 28 A fuller discussion of this subject may be found in Renato Constantino, "The Miseducation of the Filipino," *The Filipinos in the Philippines*, Quezon City, 1966.
- 29 Aside from the works of Rizal and del Pilar cited above, see Isabelo de los Reyes, *La sensacional memoria de Isabelo de los Reyes sobre la revolucion filipina*, Madrid, 1899.
- 30 This is comprehensively discussed in a revisionist version of Philippine

history which had been scheduled for publication in 1972, Renato Constantino, *The Philippines: A Past Revisited*, (henceforth to be referred to as *Past Revisited*) Chapters 7, 8 and 9.

- 31 The people's struggles against colonial rule constitute the principal thematic material of *Past Revisited*. The Philippine Revolution was the first national action of the Filipino people. It was led by the Katipunan, a mass organization headed by a lower middle class revolutionary, Andres Bonifacio. Bonifacio formerly belonged to the reformist league established by Jose Rizal who, together with other educated Filipinos, worked for reforms and assimilation in Spain. The Philippine Revolution includes not only the struggle against Spain, which was successful, but also the war against the Americans who aborted the life of the Philippine Republic.
- 32 Nativism is generally defined as a "conscious organized attempt on the part of society's members to revive or perpetuate selected aspects of its culture." Ralph Linton, "Nativistic Movements," *American Anthropologists*, Vol. XLV (1943), pp. 230-240. Most nativistic movements in the Philippines had millenary features and their leaders claimed or were believed by their followers to possess supernatural faculties. This subject is covered by David Sturtevant, "Philippine Social Structure and its Relation to Agrarian Unrest," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Stanford University, 1959, Chapter 5.
- 33 The effect of the tribute and the other exactions which were especially exacerbated by the Dutch wars is discussed by John Leddy Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines*, Madison, 1959, Chapters 7 and 8.
- 34 *Babaylans* were native priests in pre-Spanish communities.
- 35 Bohol is one of the islands of the Visayan group.
- 36 This is known as the Tamblot Revolt, after the name of the *babaylan*. Details of this revolt may be found in *BR*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 116-118.
- 37 Leyte is an island in Eastern Visayas.
- 38 *BR*, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 87-94.
- 39 Francisco Dagohoy was the leader of the longest revolt against Spain. Living in self-sufficient mountain communities in Bohol, the rebels resisted for more than eighty years. For more on Dagohoy's revolt, see "Viana's Memorial of 1765," *BR*, Vol. XLVIII, p. 202; Gregorio Zaide, *Dagohoy, Champion of Philippine Freedom*, Manila, 1941; Juan de la Concepcion, *Historia General de Filipinas*, 14 v, Manila 1788-1792, Vol. XIV, pp. 79-107; Austin Craig, *The Filipinos' Fight For Freedom*, Manila, 1933, pp. 198-199.
- 40 Apolinario de la Cruz was a native lay leader in Tayabas, a province in Southern Luzon now named Quezon. He was generally known as *Hermano Pule* (brother Pule). Accounts of this movement may be found in *La Política de España en Filipinas* (November 24, 1891); Jose Montero y Vidal, *Historia General de Filipinas*, 3v., Madrid, 1894-1896, Vol. III, pp. 37-56; and a recent study by David Sweet, "The Proto-Political Peasant Movement in the Spanish Philippines: The Cofradia de San Jose and the Tayabas Rebellion of 1841," *Asian Studies* (April, 1970).
- 41 The *barangay* was the social unit of the early inhabitants. It was a kinship group which derived its name from the boat which it was believed they used in coming to the islands.
- 42 Generally speaking, there has been an uncritical acceptance of the versions of Spanish chroniclers regarding Philippine society during pre-conquest times. From these works, one draws the impression that there existed a full-blown class society with slaves, freemen, nobles, kings, etc. After a

- more critical reading of these sources and an examination of recent anthropological data, one is forced to the conclusion that except for the Muslims, the primitive communities cannot fit into the scheme of a class society still favoured by many Philippine historians. This subject is discussed in *Past Revisited*, Chapter 3, Baranganic Communities; see note 3 for the statement of anthropologist, Robert B. Fox.
- 43 *Polo* was the term used for personal service or forced labour; those who rendered such service were called *polistas*.
- 44 Limahong was the Chinese "corsair" who tried to conquer the Philippines in 1574. On Lakandula, see Antonio de Morga, "Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas," in *BR*, Vol. XV, p. 52.
- 45 Phelan, *Hispanization*... , *op. cit.*, pp. 13, 113-116, 156-157. Father Jose S. Arcilla suggests a new meaning of slavery as used by the early chroniclers in his article, "Slavery, Flogging and Other Moral Cases in 17th century Philippines," *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 20 (1972), No. 3, p. 402.
- 46 Pampanga and Pangasinan are provinces in Central Luzon while Ilocos is in the northern region of Luzon and comprises four provinces.
- 47 A dissenting analysis and interpretation of these revolts is fully discussed in *Past Revisited*. This revisionist history reexamines the halo of patriotism so generously awarded by many to those leaders, Chapter 7. For comprehensive accounts of these revolts see Baltazar Sta. Cruz, *Historia de la Provincia del Sancto Rosario de Filipinas*, Zaragoza, 1693, pp. 331-334, Juan de la Concepcion, *Historia*... , *op. cit.*, Vol. VII, pp. 9-26; Pedro Murillo Velarde, *Historia de la Provincia de Philipinas de la Compañia de Jesus*, Manila, 1749, pp. 253-255; Casimiro Diaz, *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas*, Valladolid, 1890, pp. 568-590, "Insurrections by Filipinos Against the Spaniards," in *BR*, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 150-215.
- 48 John Alan Larkin in his book *The Pampangans-Colonial Society in a Philippine Province*, Berkeley, 1972, uses the Anglicized Pampangans to refer to the inhabitants of the province although the terms in current use are the Spanish derivative, *Pampango* or the native *Kapampangan*.
- 49 This was really a "non-revolt" with no clashes and no casualties.
- 50 The Spanish-Dutch war in Philippine waters during the 17th century was part of the eighty years war of liberation of the Dutch Republic against Spain.
- 51 This was called the *bandala*, a form of forced requisition.
- 52 For details of this non-revolt see *BR*, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 139-160.
- 53 The Philippines was occupied by the British from 1762 to 1764 after a short war with Spain. The Spanish-British war in this part of the world was part of the Seven Years war in Europe. The Silang revolt is discussed in Montero y Vidal, "*Historia*..." , *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 85-111; for other accounts see *BR*, Vol. XLIX, p. 160 n; John Foreman, *The Philippine Islands*, N.Y., 1906, pp. 100-101; Joaquin Martinez de Zuñiga, *Historia de las Islas Filipinas*, Manila, 1803, pp. 654-662; *La Política de España en Filipinas* (December 8, 1891). *Past Revisited* contains the only contrary interpretation of this celebrated revolt to date and presents a deglamorized Silang.
- 54 Silang's negotiations with the British and the text of his revealing letter to the British commander can be found in *Manilha Consultations, 1762-1763*, Madras, 1946, Vol. V, pp. 124-125.
- 55 For the abuses of the friars, see Isabelo de los Reyes, *La Sensacional*... , *op. cit.*; Ralph Mailliard, "An Investigation of the Philippine Friar Land

Case and Related Problems," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Loyola University, 1942, pp. 5-6; LeRoy, *Phil. Life. . . , op. cit.*, Chapter 5; LeRoy, *The Americans in the Philippines*, 2 v., Boston, 1914, Vol. I, p. 18; Charles Cunningham, "Origin of the Friar Lane Question in the Philippines," *The American Political Sciences Review*, Vol. X (1916).

- 56 This controversy began as a conflict between Spaniards, i.e. between those who belonged to the different orders—the regular clergy—and the secular priests who were under the supervision of the archbishops. Although the regulars were supposed to do missionary work, they practically monopolized the parishes which properly belonged to the seculars. But the religious orders were so strong and united that the archbishop could hardly dislodge them. When the archbishops ordained more native priests in order to refute the regulars' claims that there were not enough priests to man the parishes, there was vehement opposition and much disparagement of the native priesthood from the regulars. The demand for secularization which had been led by *creole* seculars—that is, *Españoles-Filipinos* according to Spanish usage—was soon transformed into a demand for Filipinization of the parishes, a movement which found Filipino or *creole* seculars making common cause with native seculars. Accounts of the controversy may be found in Agoncillo and Guerrero, *A Short History of the Filipino People*, Manila, 1970, pp. 131-134; "Memoria de Simon de Anda" in *BR*, Vol. L, pp. 142-143.
- 57 See note No. 40.
- 58 John Schumacher, *Father Jose Burgos, Priest and Nationalist*, Quezon City, 1972; Edmundo Plauchut, *La Algarada de Cavite de 1872*, Manila, 1961, Schumacher, *Propaganda. . . , op. cit.*, pp. 7, 8, 41, 94-95, 208 n, see LeRoy, *The Americans. . . , op. cit.*, for a summary of another version of the mutiny, Vol. I, pp. 58-59 n.
- 59 Benito F. Legarda, "Foreign Trade, Economic Change and Entrepreneurship in the Nineteenth Century Philippines," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, 1955, pp. 403-404.
- 60 Edgar Wickberg; "The Chinese Mestizo in Philippine History," *Journal of South East Asian Studies*, (March, 1964), pp. 62-100; Charles Edward Chapman, *A History of Spain*, New York, 1965; Stanley J. and Barbara H. Stein, *The Colonial Heritage of Latin America*, New York, 1970.
- 61 An extended discussion of the role the Chinese played in the Philippine economy is the seminal work based on archival materials by Edgar Wickberg, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898*, New Haven, 1965.
- 62 This system involves a loan secured by a deed of sale in favour of the creditor with right of redemption within a given period. Since the creditor becomes de facto owner from the date of mortgage, the debtor loses the produce of his land, or if he works for his creditor he receives only a tenant's share. Under these circumstances, it is very seldom that a mortgagor can pay back his debt. He is thus reduced to becoming a tenant tilling the soil he once owned.
- 63 Such expulsions occurred in 1596, 1686, 1744, 1755 and 1769. The last one in particular benefitted the Chinese mestizos.
- 64 By the 18th century the Chinese mestizos had become a socially dynamic group and Sinibaldo de Mas in his *Report on the Conditions of the Philippines in 1842*, Part III, "Interior Politics" republished by The Historical Conservation Society, 1963, p. 164, was right in predicting their assumption of leadership. For an extended discussion of the rise of the Filipino elite see Renato Constantino, "The Filipino Elite" in *Dissent and Counter-Consciousness*, Quezon City, 1970.

- 65 The term means the enlightened ones and referred to those members of the elite who had acquired higher education. See Larkin, *Pampangans*. . . , *op. cit.*, p. 97.
- 66 For a discussion of the evolution of the term Filipino, see Renato Constantino, *The Making of a Filipino*, Q.C., 1970, pp. 9-14. Spaniards born in the Philippines were called *insulares* or *Españoles*—Filipinos, or Filipinos for short. They were thus the original Filipinos. Spaniards born in Spain were called *peninsulares*. The natives were *indios*.
- 67 Parker, *Church and State*. . . , *op. cit.*, pp. 46-58.
- 68 Benito F. Legarda, *Foreign Trade*. . . , *op. cit.*, p. 273.
- 69 Constantino, "Veneration Without Understanding," in *Dissent*. . . , *op. cit.*
- 70 Bonifacio was the founder and leader of the *Katipunan*, the revolutionary organization that led the struggle against Spain. He was a member of the lower middle class and because of his obscure origins and poverty, is commonly referred to as the great plebeian. After a farcical trial, Bonifacio was executed on orders of Emilio Aguinaldo, a member of the landed class who assumed the leadership of the Revolution together with his *ilustrado* advisers. For Bonifacio's biography, see Epifanio de los Santos, *The Revolutionists: Aguinaldo, Bonifacio, Jacinto*, republished by the National Historical Commission, 1973, pp. 83-152; Teodoro Agoncillo, *The Revolt of the Masses*, Quezon City, 1956. On the synthesis between reformist ideas and mass actions, see Constantino, "Veneration. . .", *op. cit.*, and "The Lonely Hero", *Graphic* (June 19, 1968).
- 71 The English text of Aguinaldo's manifesto is reproduced in John R.M. Taylor, *The Philippine Insurrection Against the United States*, 5 v., edited by Renato Constantino (henceforth to be referred to as *Taylor*) Pasay City, 1971, Vol. I, Exh. 60, p. 414. The pact of Biak-na-Bato was the logical consequence of the defeat of Bonifacio in the power struggle which led to his execution. It was named after Aguinaldo's mountain sanctuary. The compromise agreement was negotiated by Pedro Paterno, an *ilustrado* who was close to both the Spaniards and the leaders of the Revolution and later became a prominent *Americanista*. See Constantino "Roots of Subservience," in *Dissent*. . . , *op. cit.*
- 72 For accounts of these actions, see Leandro Fernandez, *The Philippine Republic*, New York, 1926, pp. 44, 49-51; Taylor, Vol. I, Exh. 81, Vol. III, Chapter I, pp. 2-5; John Foreman, *The Philippine*. . . , *op. cit.*, pp. 401-408; T.M. Kalaw, *The Philippine Revolution*, Manila, 1953, pp. 80-83; Manuel Sastron, *La insurreccion en Filipinas y Guerra Hispano-Americana en el archipielago*, Madrid, 1901, pp. 334, 342-344.
- 73 Constantino, "Origin of a Myth," introduction to the Malaya Books reprint (1968) of James Blount's *The American Occupation of the Philippines 1898-1912*, New York, 1913, pp. 29-32.
- 74 The text of Aguinaldo's declaration of independence under an American protectorate can be found in Taylor, Vol. III, Exh. 7, and his act of Proclamation Independence, in the same volume, Exh. 28.
- 75 Word of honour.
- 76 Senate Document 331, Pt. 3, p. 2028, cited in Blount, *op. cit.*, p. 13, Constantino, "Roots. . .", *op. cit.*
- 77 In secret negotiations, the Spaniards and the Americans forged an agreement to stage a mock battle which would be quickly followed by the surrender of Manila to U.S. forces, provided no Filipino troops were allowed into the surrendered city. LeRoy, *The Americans*. . . , Vol. I, Chapter 6.

- 78 Aguinaldo's Decree of May 24, 1898 states: "The great North American nation, the cradle of genuine liberty and therefore the friend of our people oppressed and enslaved by the tyranny and despotism of its rulers, has come to us manifesting a protection as decisive as it is undoubtedly disinterested toward our inhabitants, considering us as sufficiently civilized and capable of governing for ourselves our unfortunate country. In order to maintain this high estimate granted us by the generous North American nation we should abominate all those deeds which tend to lower this opinion. . .", *Taylor*, Vol. III, p. 32.
- 79 In a letter to Gen. Makabulos dated June 27, 1900, Aguinaldo urged the former to step up the fighting in the hope that this would influence the U.S. presidential elections in favour of the Democrats' William Jennings Bryan, *Taylor*, Vol. V, Exh. 998. This echoes an earlier statement by Aguinaldo's premier, Pedro Paterno that "a great political party asks for the recognition of our rights..." quoted in Maximo Kalaw, *The Development of Philippine Politics* (1872-1920), Manila, 1926, pp. 199-200.
- 80 Aguinaldo's statement is quoted in *T.M. Kalaw, op. cit.*, pp. 280-282.
- 81 Constantino, "Origin. . .", *op. cit.*, Luz Francisco, "The First Vietnam," *The Philippines: End of Illusion*, London, 1973; *Soldiers' Letters (being Materials for the History of a War of Criminal Aggression)*, Boston, 1899, pp. 3-16.
- 82 On the conduct of the War, see *Senate Doc. 331*, "Hearings on Affairs in the Philippine Islands," Vols. I and II; *Senate Doc. 213*, 57th Congress, 2nd Session, "Trials of courts martial in the Philippines in consequence of certain instructions," Washington, 1903.
- 83 *Annual Reports of the War Department, 1902*, Volume IX, p. 19; Artemio Ricarte, *Memoirs*, Manila, *National Heroes Commission*, 1963, p. 30; George Yarrington Coats, "The Philippine Constabulary, 1901-1917," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Ohio State University, 1968, Chapter 5; *The Manila Times*, (1901-1910). The Coats account is based on the *Reports of the Philippine Commission, 1902-1903* and other official publications. Other accounts may be found in Vic Hurley, *Jungle Patrol: The Story of the Philippine Constabulary*, New York, 1938; John R. White, *Bullets and Bolos! Fifteen Years in the Philippine Islands*, New York, 1928; and Harold H. Elarth, *The Story of the Philippine Constabulary*, Los Angeles, 1949. On the movement covering Cavite and Batangas, see Antonio K. Abad, *General L. Sakay*, Manila, 1955; Jose P. Santos, *Ang Tatlong Napabantog na "Tulisan" sa Pilipinas*, Manila, 1936, pp. 29-79.
- 84 *Report of the Philippine Commission, 1903*, Pt. III, p. 100; Coats, "Philippine Constabulary. . .", *op. cit.*, Chapters 3, 10 and 12; Jose P. Santos, *Ang Tatlong. . .*, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-27; Ricarte, *Memoirs, op. cit.*, p. 130; *Report of the Philippine Commission, 1906*, Pt. I, p. 142, Pt. II, p. 239; *Report of the Philippine Commission, 1907*, Pt. II, pp. 310-311; *First Report of the Philippine Commission* (Schurman), Pt. II, p. 356; "A Report of Captain L.W. Kennon, giving an account of Papa Isio and his Band of Insurgents," (A Compilation of Insurgent Documents Consisting Briefly of Letters and Orders Issued by Insurgent Officials During the Insurrection of the Philippine Islands from 1898 to 1902 Pertaining Chiefly to the Visayan Group Comprising the Islands of Panay, Negros, Cebu, Bohol, Leyte and Samar. Prepared and Annotated by F.R. Fabie, Panay, P.I.: Adjutant General's Office Fifth Separate Brigade, 1902.) (Microfilm); *Manila Times* (June 9, 10 and 14, 1905,

- August 18, 1904 and September 7, 1905).
- 85 Constantino, "Miseducation. . .", *op. cit.* According to Dr. David P. Barrows, then General Superintendent of Education in the Philippines, of an estimated 1,800,000 Filipino children between the ages of six and fifteen, 510,000 were enrolled in school by April, 1905. Since the aim of the American educational programme was to give each child three years of primary instruction at some time between their sixth and fifteenth years, an enrollment of 600,000 at any one time was sufficient to reach all children. Dr. Barrows noted that enrollment had doubled between 1903 and 1905, and the number of Filipino children had increased to five thousand. Cited in James A. LeRoy, *Philippine Life. . .*, *op. cit.*, pp. 221-224.
- 86 The constitution of the new republic was drafted in Malolos, in the province of Bulacan, which was at the time the seat of government, hence it is often referred to as the Malolos Constitution. See Cesar Majul, *The Constitutional and Political Ideals of the Revolution*, Quezon City, 1957, pp. 137-138.
- 87 Majul, *Mabini and the Revolution*, Quezon City, 1960, pp. 47-48.
- 88 An example of disillusionment with elite surrenders can be found in the text of a manifesto of the Iloilo National Army of Operations dated October 1, 1900, Exh. 1301 in *Taylor*, Vol. V, pp. 603-605.
- 89 The Vatican made a shrewd move in appointing an American archbishop to represent it in the Treaty of Paris. The Americans on the other hand wanted to enlist the Church in the task of colonial consolidation for they saw in the Philippine Independent Church a vehicle for nationalist activity. The Americans gained what in effect was the right of patronage as American priests began replacing Spanish friars in the Philippines. This was the background to the Taft-Vatican negotiations. The subject is discussed in Oscar Evangelista, "Religious Problems in the Philippines and the American Catholic Church 1898-1907," *Asian Studies*, (December, 1968).
- 90 Constantino, "Our Captive Minds" in *The Filipinos. . .*, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-80.
- 91 Article 35 of the Jones Law made the American Vice-governor the head of the Department of Education.
- 92 Ernest Frei, *The Historical Development of the Philippine Language*, Manila, 1959.
- 93 T.H. Pardo de Tavera, "Origin and Growth of the Federal Party," letter addressed to General Arthur MacArthur, May 14, 1901.
- 94 Dick Wilson, *Asia Awakes*, London, 1972, Chapter 4.
- 95 Constantino, "Origin. . .", *op. cit.*
- 96 Constantino, "Veneration. . .", *op. cit.*, "The Lonely Hero," *Graphic*, (June 19, 1968).
- 97 *Pulajanes*, a term derived from *pula* the Tagalog word for red. The original *pulajanes* were groups in the Visayas who participated in the struggle against the Spaniards and later resisted the Americans. They wore red pants, hence the name.
- 98 *Colorum*, from the Latin *et in saecula saeculorum*, a phrase used at Mass to end certain prayers. The original *colorums* were the followers of Apolinario de la Cruz who led a revolt in the 1940's after his group was refused recognition by the Catholic Church. The fanatically religious members must have used this phrase frequently in their prayers, hence the name. Today, the term is used for any clandestine operation. For example, taxicabs operating without official licence are called *colorums*.

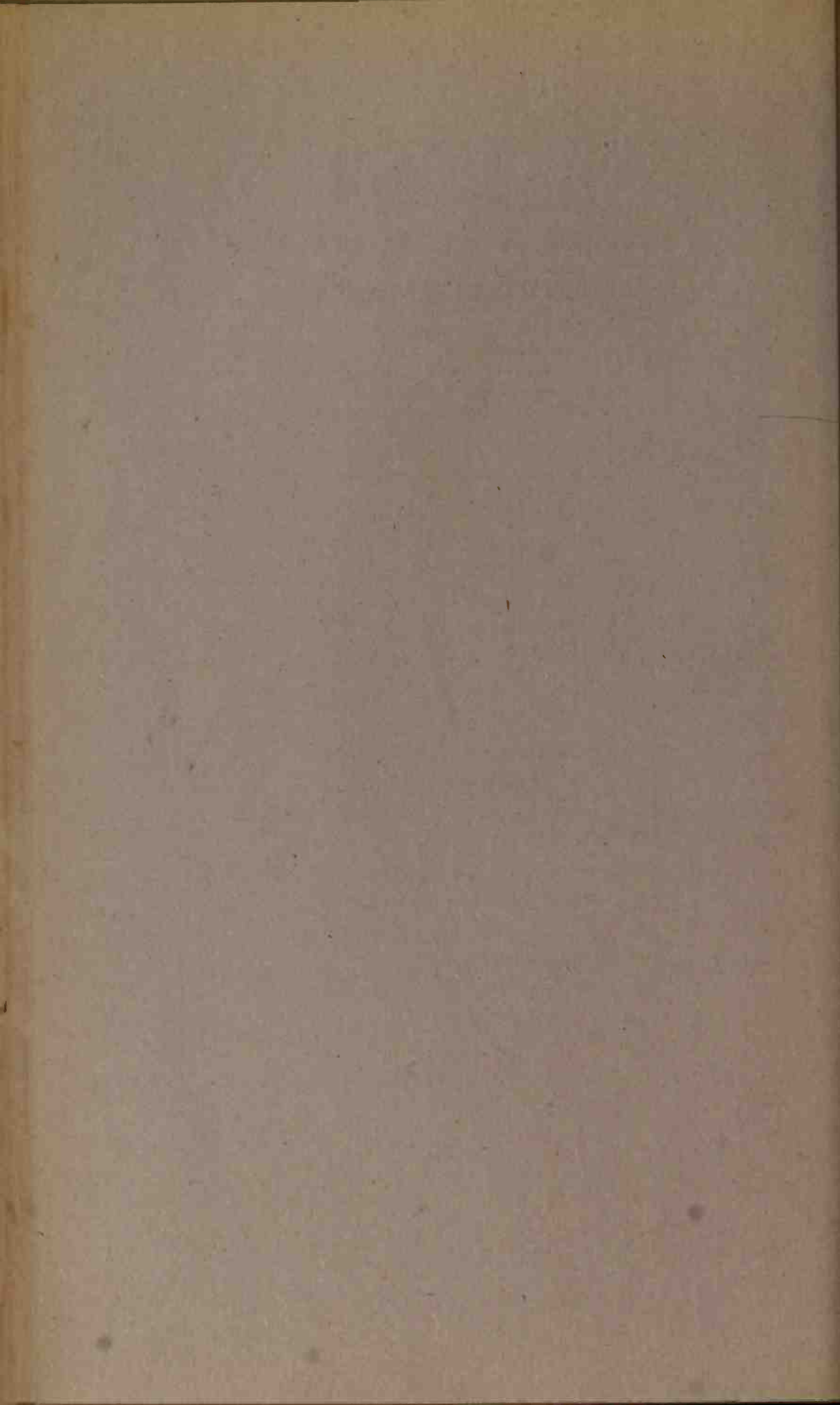
- 99 Milagros Guerrero, "The Colorum Uprisings, 1924-1931," *Asian Studies*, (April, 1967), pp. 65-78.
- 100 A group named after its leader, Pedro Kabola, a fuller discussion may be found in Roy Stubbs, "Philippine Radicalism: The Central Luzon Uprisings 1925-1935," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of California, 1951, Chapter 2. Neuva Ecija is a province in Central Luzon.
- 101 A term that originated in Haiti, meaning local boss. In the Philippines, this referred generally to oppressive landlords who controlled the lives of people within their domain. LeRoy, *Philippine Life*. . . , *op. cit.*, discusses this on pp. 172-200.
- 102 See David Sturtevant, "Phil. Social Structure. . .", *op. cit.*, pp. 132-138. The Sturtevant discussion is based on Bureau of Insular Affairs Record Group 126, Card Index Number 3865-167.
- 103 Victor S. Clark, "Labour Conditions in the Philippines," *Bulletin of Labour*, Vol. X, No. 58, pp. 843-850; Kenneth Kurihara, *Labour in the Philippine Economy*, Stanford, 1945, p. 61. Although biased and poorly organized, a rich source of information is Renze Hoeksema, "Communism in the Philippines," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Harvard, 1956; George Santayana, "Milestones in the History of the CPP" (Ms) Ateneo Library. The Communist Party of the Philippines was founded in 1930 by Crisanto Evangelista.
- 104 A perusal of the *Manila Tribune* and other newspapers of the period will show daily reports of peasant strikes and labour demands for better working conditions.
- 105 Stubbs, "Phil. Radicalism. . .", *op. cit.*, Chapter 3.
- 106 *Ibid.*, Chapter 4.
- 107 Asedillo was a school teacher who became involved in a labour strike in Manila. Wanted by the authorities, he escaped to Laguna and there teamed up with another rebel, Nicolas Encallado, to start a rebellion against the government; James Wingo, "Asedillo Eulogized, Quezon Discredited, Neutrality Explained," *Philippines Free Press*, (April 11, 1936), pp. 9 and 45.
- 108 Accounts of the Sakdal uprising may be found in Milagros Guerrero, "The Sakdal Uprising," *Praxis*, (August-September, 1968), pp. 41-55; Sturtevant, "Phil. Social Structure. . .", *op. cit.*, pp. 154-196; Harlan Crippen, "Philippine Agrarian Unrest: Historical Background," *Science and Society*, Vol. X (1946), no. 4, pp. 339-345; Stubbs, "Phil. Radicalism. . .", *op. cit.*, Chapters 5 and 6; for goals and purposes, see *Manila Tribune*, (June 24, 1934).
- 109 The CPP and the Socialist Party merged in 1938, see two versions, Hoeksema, "Communism. . .", *op. cit.*, pp. 179-186 and Santayana, "Milestones. . .", *op. cit.*, p. 16 et. seq.
- 110 Brian Fegan's "Jobs and Farms: The Lessee's Alternatives and Peasantization," *View from the Paddy: Empirical Studies of Philippine Rice Farming and Tenancy*, an IPC Publication, Vol. XX (1972), no. 1 & 2, gives some useful insights into the nature of employment in rural Philippine towns. On p. 135 Fegan writes:
"The large production-line factory with its impersonal norms, and regularly employed, time-disciplined labour—the true proletariat—is virtually absent in the towns, still uncommon in Manila. . . The economy of the rural Philippine town has two sectors. One is quasi-bureaucratized, employing professionals and white-collar workers in administration, health, financial, educational, and police and guard service; and (except the last) are practically closed to

the farmer, but time-disciplined salaried or time-rate employees are seldom to be found out of this sector. The other sector, open to skilled and semi-skilled artisans and unskilled workers (hence the farmers) occurs in transport, building, processing and storing of crops, conversion and repair of vehicles and equipment, light and handicraft manufacturing, food and personal services, and the buy-and-sell operations of the marketplace and its extensions. This sector, except for purely personal or family operations, is characterized by dyadic relationships between small capitalists who supply equipment, materials, prime positions or credit to workers whose it on some version of userent, sharing piece-work putting out, contract, agency, or simple debt system. Rather than proletarians, these operatives are dependent petty entrepreneurs. They are not subject to attendance discipline beyond their short-run need for cash, and long-run need to keep on good-enough terms with the capitalist to keep a place open. This system rests on capital shortage and labour surplus, accounts for the weakness of unions, and is the equivalent in the secondary and tertiary sectors of the economy of the tenancy system in the primary.

- 111 Amelia Lapeña, *The "Seditious" Tagalog Playwrights: Early American Occupation*, Manila, 1972.
- 112 Constantino, "Scenario for Survival," *Graphic*, (September 17, 1969); "Mind Pollution," *Manila Chronicle*, (April 1, 1971).
- 113 Constantino, "The Phony Society," in *Filipinos. . .*, *op. cit.* "Dissent in Philippine Society" and "Culture and National Identity," in *Dissent. . .*, *op. cit.*
- 114 These are discussed in Constantino, "The Trojan Horses," (January 28, 1971), "The Technocrats," (January 1, 1971), "Brain Drain Within," (February 13, 1971), "The Illiterates," (March 12, 1972), "The Uses of Technocrats," (July 19, 1971), all of which appeared in the *Manila Chronicle*.
- 115 The Philippine Rehabilitation Act, better known as the parity of and later broadened by the Laurel-Langley Agreement gave the Americans equal rights in the exploitation of natural resources and business opportunities.
- 116 "Ethics for Nationalists," in *Dissent. . .*, *op. cit.*, "Kim on Flunkeyism," (April 20, 1972), and "Recto's Second Demise," *Manila Chronicle*, (February 8, 1972).
- 117 "The Anti-Social Filipino," in *Dissent. . .*, *op. cit.*
- 118 A favourite concept of some contemporary Philippine social scientists which may be roughly rendered as a "sense of deep camaraderie."

PART II

SOCIETY IN DEPENDENCY



THE FILIPINOS IN THE PHILIPPINES*

The Filipinos constitute the largest minority group in the Philippines. The present native inhabitants are the survivors of that race which suffered the brutalization of the Spaniards, the "extermination campaign" of the American troops during the Filipino-American War, and the mass executions of the Japanese.

Ethically, these people belong to the Malay group, though strains of Chinese, Indian, and Spanish blood may be found. Recently however, a great deal of American blood has been pouring into the country. The introduction of this strain into the Filipino bloodstream has greatly improved the height of Filipino basketball players and the shape of Philippine movie-stars.

Another school of thought would classify the Filipinos as an almost subhuman species. U.S. Senator MacLaurin, during the debate on the Paris peace treaty of 1898, expressed his fears of the possible annexation of the Philippines because it would mean the "incorporation of a mongrel and semi-barbarous population into our body politic", which was "inferior to, but akin to the Negro in moral and intellectual qualities and in capacity for self-government."

TERRITORY

The Filipinos live in areas outside the military bases and American recreation camps. The territory occupied by these

**This Week*, Manila Chronicle, October 4, 1959.

people is rapidly shrinking as Filipinos yield the choicest residential, commercial and industrial sites to other minority groups who have found in this land a haven from economic difficulties in their own countries of origin. The continuation of this trend can lead to only one result—namely, reservations for Filipinos, similar to those enjoyed by the Ainus of Japan and the American Indians in the United States. These reservations will constitute a guarantee from grateful foreign friends that the Filipinos will always have a place in the Philippines in recognition of their having been the first inhabitants of this country.

PHYSICAL FEATURES

The Filipino race is the greatest answer to anthropologists who arbitrarily and unfairly classify peoples as white, black, brown, red or yellow. The Filipinos may truly be called a super race for, as a people, they show such varied physical characteristics that they defy categorization.

Brown and White

The men belong to the brown race; the women are definitely Caucasoid of the Hollywood type, for, by means of modern cosmetology, their skins are bleached, their hair is brunette, red, or even blonde. The female physical dimensions are 35-24-35, true or false. They have fairly straight limbs and pointed toes.

Blacks, Reds and Yellows

The Negritos, along with certain Filipinas sporting ₱ 1.50 permanents, may be classified under the black race because of their characteristic kinky hair. There is a sprinkling of reds among the Filipinos, notably those lately of Central Luzon, who, according to outstanding "racial experts", may be easily recognized by their incorrigible tendency to infiltrate all manner of organizations and from those vantage points criticize American domination of this country. The yellow race is represented by those Filipinos

who are descended from Chinese ancestors and other yellow individuals like those who cower before diplomatic and military representatives of foreign powers.

CHARACTER TRAITS

Hospitable and Generous

The Filipinos are a hospitable and generous people. With the exception of a certain Lapu-Lapu and some misguided "insurrectos" during the turn of the century, the Filipinos have been happy to open their shores to aliens in search of wealth. The majority have considered it a privilege to be able to offer their foreign friends all the opportunities for advancement. Their one obsession has been to make of this country what prominent foreign writers have called—"an island paradise." True to the wishes of their ancestors, the modern Filipinos have indeed transformed their country into a paradise—for non-Filipinos.

Of course, no paradise is without its serpent, and in the Philippine Eden the foreigners have discovered a species of venomous serpents whom they call "Ultra-nationalists."

Land of the Brave

Philippine history is replete with instances showing that the ancestors of modern Filipinos were proud, brave men. The modern Filipino is braver still, for he has fought and died for other nations and is willing to die again and again for America. Undaunted by the threat of nuclear obliteration, armed only with obsolete surplus American weapons, the Filipinos are willing to act as magnets to draw the enemy fire from continental American in a supreme gesture of gallantry which will surely amaze the world.

As a matter of fact, the Filipino is braver than the American. Time and again he has shown in the halls of the United Nations that he is not afraid to engage both the Soviet Union and Red China single-handed in mortal combat, whereas the Americans will not fight unless supported by loyal allies. The peak of Philippine bravery was reached

during the time of Magsaysay. Unfortunately, because of the influence of cowardly nationalists who insist on fighting only for national interests, Filipino bravery has diminished.

A Cultured Race

The Filipino is a creature of immense talent for cultural acquisition. He has shown his discriminating taste by being receptive only to American culture, selecting for avid consumption such outstanding American contributions as cowboy movies, horror pictures, comics, rock and roll, soap-box derbies, beauty contests, teen-age idiosyncracies, advertising jingles, cocktail parties, and soft drinks. This talent of the Filipinos for assimilating only American culture, and moreover, only the best of that culture, was foreseen by T.H. Pardo de Tavera who in 1901 said:

“After peace is established, all our efforts will be directed to Americanizing ourselves; to cause a knowledge of the English language to be extended and generalized in the Philippines, in order that through its agency the American spirit may take possession of us, and that we may adopt its principles, its political customs, and its peculiar civilization, that our redemption may be complete and radical.”

Heights of Ambition

The typical Filipino is ambitious. The male aspires to be a junior executive in a large American firm and later to head a subsidiary of some big American corporation. A few become politicians and seek office through any of the established parties. Failure to land in any major political slate could easily be remedied by establishing a grand alliance and calling the other office seekers “professional politicians.” The female, both married and unmarried, aspires to be a fashion model or a cover girl.

The typical middle-class family dreams of an RFC or GSIS-financed bungalow with a terrace, a tiled bathroom, and a bubble lamp in the living room which simply must have a semi-HI-FI radio and, if possible, a corner “bar” proudly

displaying beer and coca cola bottles. Such a family raises children so that they may have the pleasure of giving them American nick-names and hearing themselves called Mommy and Daddy in contrast to less fortunate Nanays and Tatays. Their boys must go to colleges well known for their basketball teams, and their girls must receive an exclusive convent education. Of course, the family must have a second-hand car of the latest possible model or at least a re-conditioned jeep with tail fins.

In Manila, the aforementioned vehicle will most probably convey the family on its monthly outing to the exclusive Enlisted Men's Mess Hall of the JUSMAG compound, there to relish hamburger sandwiches and ice cream sundaes at PX prices.

Gratitude Springs Eternal

In the eyes of their foreign friends, one of the endearing traits of the Filipinos is their child-like gratitude for little gifts or imagined favours. The Filipinos have never stopped being grateful to the American administrators for their progress in agriculture, commerce, industry, public works, sanitation, etc. Like naive children, they received all these as if they were gifts from their benevolent conquerors. The truth is, as A.V.H. Hartendorp, an American oldtimer, said in his latest book:

"A truly remarkable fact is that all this was accomplished without financial aid from the United States. The civil administration of the Philippines was self-supporting from the beginning of the American occupation in 1898. The only expense the Philippines constituted for the United States was the expense of maintaining the United States armed forces here."

More recently, the Filipinos have found new cause for gratitude in the establishment of packaging and assembly plants which are grandiosely called industries when in truth these plants are disguised forms of importation which consume plenty of dollars for raw material purchases and for capital and profit remittances.

The basic origin for this naive propensity to feel gratitude, out of all proportion to supposed favours bestowed, is the belief shared by almost all Filipinos that they should be grateful to the U.S. for having saved them from Spanish misrule. The entire thinking of the Filipinos at present is based on the assumption that the U.S. crossed the ocean to give succour to a people who were up in arms against a cruel tyrant and would have been crushed by said tyrant had not the noble-hearted American crusaders come to their rescue.

At this point, a discussion of early Philippine-American relations would be proper in order to establish the basis of that gratitude.

PRE-HISTORY AND HISTORY

There is no need to touch on the history of the Filipinos during the pre-Spanish and Spanish periods. In the first place there are many conflicting versions of Philippine history during this period. There is a history for Catholic schools and a history for Chinese schools although, strangely enough, there is as yet no proper history for Filipinos. In the second place, historians of the American period assert that prior to the arrival of the Americans, the Filipinos, in the words of President Theodore Roosevelt, were merely "a jumble of savage tribes."

Filipino life before the coming of the Americans would therefore more properly belong to pre-history, and we should not concern ourselves with it. After all, no less than Secretary of War Elihu Root, in a speech before the Marquette Club in 1899, denied the existence of a Filipino nation when he said:

"Well, whom are we fighting? Are we fighting the Philippine nation? No! There is none. There are hundreds of islands inhabited by more than sixty tribes, speaking more than sixty languages, and all but one ready to accept American sovereignty."

This statement of the American Secretary of War was the

basis of popular thinking in America during that period and thereafter.

The Original Professional Politicians

According to unimpeachable American sources, all the people of the Philippines were ready to welcome American occupation with the exception of the Tagalog tribe led by a group, who, in the words of General Otis quoting Manuel Manahan, were "professional politicians." We have the word of no less than President Taft that this group of revolutionaries kept up "a conspiracy of murder, a Mafia on a very large scale."

This group of Aguinaldo and Mabini was the only stumbling block to the realization of America's "manifest destiny" in these islands because, according to American intelligence, they were cruelly coercing the people to fight for the independence of their country.

Welcome Invaders

Indeed, the Americans were so welcome that it took them only six years to suppress resistance movements, and for this purpose they used only 120,000 American troops. Evidently, the hated revolutionists had been successful in forcing the Filipinos to fight for their independence against the Spaniards, and later the Americans, even though all the time the majority of them were just itching to be under American rule.

What techniques of mass hypnosis, what refinements of torture were used to turn a naturally pro-American people into fierce fighters for freedom, are secrets that the revolutionaries carried to their graves. The fact is that prior to the coming of that admirable Admiral George Dewey, the Filipinos had in effect deposed their cruel Castilian rulers. The revolutionary forces under Emilio Aguinaldo were in control of Luzon and the principal Visayan islands. The American liberators held only Cavite and Manila.

General Anderson stated, "We held Manila and Cavite, the rest of the Island (Luzon) was held not by Spaniards but

by the Filipinos. On the other islands the Spaniards were confined to two or three fortified towns."

These were later captured by the Filipinos according to General Otis who, in his report of August 21st, 1899, admitted:

"Thus, in December, 1899, we find that in northern and southeastern Luzon, in (the islands of) Mindoro, Samar, Leyte, Panay and even on the coast of Mindanao and in some of the smaller islands, the aggressive Tagalog present in person and, whether civilian or soldier, supreme in authority."

This was the lone tribe which was coercing the others to fight for independence, and a diabolically clever tribe it was too, to judge from the success of its nefarious schemes.

Fraternal Allies

The victory of Admiral Dewey in Manila Bay confronted the United States with the problem of what to do with a people who had dislodged their masters and who had declared their independence. Fortunately, the U.S. at that time was under the able leadership of William McKinley who had a tremendous compassion for the plight of backward people and knew exactly what was good for them. During the course of the war, he showed brilliant statesmanship when he said, "While we are conducting war and until its conclusion we must keep all we get; when the war is over we must keep what we want."

Under such inspired leadership, it is not surprising that the Americans executed a series of master strokes which finally released the Filipinos from the hypnotic control which the gang of revolutionaries had exercised over them. They regained their senses and gratefully relinquished control of their country to infinitely more capable hands.

One such master stroke was the maintenance of a semblance of friendship with the revolutionaries while joint action was necessary against Spanish troops. With the fall of Manila and the capture of the main bulk of the Spanish forces which was made possible only because Filipino troops

then encircled the city, this silly friendship with misguided elements could be dropped. While the gullible Filipinos were jubilantly celebrating the fall of their old enemy and expecting to share with their American allies in the honours of victory, American policy makers, who were certainly more farsighted, decided it was time to put these revolutionaries in their proper place and cut them down to size before they began having an exaggerated idea of their own importance.

Judge James H. Blount in his book, *The American Occupation of the Philippines*, describes the fraternal relations between the two allies during the final act of the Spanish-American War:

“As Aguinaldo’s troops surged forward in the wake of the American advance they were stopped by orders from the American commander, and prevented from following the retreating Spaniards into Manila. They were not even allowed what is known to the modern small boy as a “look-in.” They were not permitted to come into the city to see the surrender.”

President McKinley’s message to Congress of December, 1898, explains this treatment of Aguinaldo and his forces thus: “Divided victory was not permissible. It was fitting that whatever was to be done. . . should be accomplished by the strong arm of the U.S. alone.”

American Altruism

A great deal of misunderstanding has been created by the verbal understanding between Dewey and Aguinaldo before the latter returned to the islands from his exile. On the question of Philippine independence, some biographers of the admiral and some Filipino historians claim that Dewey gave Aguinaldo to understand that the U.S. was fighting Spain in order to help the Filipinos gain their freedom. Aguinaldo states categorically, “Certainly Admiral Dewey did not bring me from Hongkong to Manila to fight the Spaniards for the benefit of American trade expansion.” Admiral Dewey has emphatically denied this and it is easy

to believe him because as a soldier he was trained to follow orders. In May, 1898, Secretary of the Navy Long cabled Dewey "not to have political alliance with the insurgents. . . that would incur liability to maintain their cause in the future." Moreover, Dewey's attitude toward Philippine independence was expressed by him in these admirably succinct words: "That was my idea, not taking it seriously."

That he succeeded in making Aguinaldo believe otherwise is a measure of his diplomatic skill. The good admiral would have made an eminently successful Ambassador to the Philippines were he alive today. Who knows, if he had been allowed to use his extraordinary talents for a longer period in this country, the grateful Filipinos would probably have changed the name of Manila to Dewey City instead of honouring him with only one measly boulevard.

Thus did Dewey contribute to the salvation of the majority of the Filipinos who were eagerly awaiting the implantation of American sovereignty and the exercise of American altruism in their country. How then was American altruism to be practised in these forlorn islands of the Pacific? President McKinley's instructions to the peace commissioners in Paris answer this question. He said "... incidental to our tenure in the Philippines is the commercial opportunity. . . the U.S. cannot accept less than the cession in full right and sovereignty of the island of Luzon."

Sen. Henry Cabot Lodge, the eminent ancestor of the present U.S. representative to the U.N., as permanent chairman of the Philadelphia convention which renominated McKinley for the presidency in 1900 said, "We make no hypocritical pretense of being interested in the Philippines solely on account of others. . . We believe in trade expansion."

A more altruistic American, Secretary of the Treasury Lyman J. Gage, summed up his entire attitude in a brief "Philanthropy and five per cent go hand in hand."

But the most honest statement of American altruistic intention was made by the Hon. Charles Denby, a member

of the Schurman Commission by 1899 who, in an article which appeared in the *Forum* of February, 1899, declared, "The cold practical question remains: will the possession of these islands benefit us as a nation? If they will not, set them free tomorrow and let their peoples, if they please, cut each other's throats."

Civilizing the Lowly Filipino

America was at the threshold of a new era. As Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Frank A. Vanderlip said, "We thus see with sudden clearness that some of the most revered of our political maxims have outlived their force, a new mainspring. . . has become the directing force. . . the mainspring of commercialism." So that the Filipinos might be better qualified to support this new directing force of commercialism, the Americans took upon themselves the task of civilizing the lowly Filipino.

Even before the effectivity of the Paris Peace Treaty, when America still had no legal right of title of the Philippines, McKinley issued on December 21, 1898, a proclamation of "benevolent assimilation" which in effect informed the Filipinos that they were already a possession of the United States who would rule them with benevolence if they accepted its sovereignty. Otherwise, the armed forces of the United States would compel them to submit. Apparently, the independent Filipino government did not know what was good for them and their country. They resisted the benevolent invasion.

With Solicitude and Care

Because of the recalcitrance of the Philippine government, the Americans had to civilize these barbaric peoples with the Krag rifle. The U.S. army troops were made conscious of their mission to treat the natives with solicitude and care. The army song of the troops under Gen. Arthur MacArthur showed the high regard of the American soldier for the Filipino.

*Damn, damn, damn the Filipino
Pock-marked Khakiac ladrone;
Underneath the starry flag
Civilize him with a Krag,
And return us to our own beloved home.*

(Sung to the tune of "Tramp; tramp, tramp, the boys are marching.")

The task of civilizing these people proved extremely difficult, for the Filipinos perversely insisted on living in their old savage ways. The Americans, therefore, had to resort to various civilized means of collective punishment, torture, and mass extermination in their sincere effort to bring the Filipinos to their senses in order that they would accept the superior civilization of America. For every attack made by Filipinos on American troops, whole villages were burned. Some quarters in the U.S. questioned the method of dealing with these people. The justification may be seen in the following testimony of Gen. R.P. Hughes during a U.S. Senate investigation—

Senator Rawlins. If these shacks were of no consequence what was the utility of their destruction?

Gen. Hughes: The destruction was as a punishment. They permitted these people to come in there and conceal themselves and they gave them no sign. It is always—

Sen. Rawlins: The punishment in that case would fall, not upon the men, who could go elsewhere, but mainly upon the women and little children.

Gen. Hughes: The women and children are part of the family, and where you wish to inflict a punishment you can punish the man probably worse in that way than in any other.

Sen. Rawlins: But is that within the ordinary rules of civilized warfare? Of course you could exterminate the family, which would be still worse punishment.

Gen Hughes: These people are not civilized.

The techniques of benevolent assimilation were varied and ingenious. The most famous was the water cure. This particular technique is described in an article in *City and*

State of January 2, 1909 quoting a letter to the *Omaha World* by private A.F. Miller of the 32nd U.S. Volunteers:

Now this is the way we give them the water cure: lay them on their backs, a man standing on each hand and each foot, then put a round stick in the mouth and pour a pail of water in the mouth and nose, and if they don't give up pour in another pail. They swell up like toads. I'll tell you it's a terrible torture.

Mr. George Kennan, the special investigator of the *Outlook*, in an article of March 9, 1901, states:

The Spaniards used the torture of water, throughout the islands, as a means of obtaining information; but they used it sparingly, and only when it appeared evident that the victim was culpable. Americans seldom do things by halves. We come here and announce our intention of freeing the people from three or four hundred years of oppression, and say 'we are strong, and powerful, and grand.' Then to resort to inquisitorial methods, and use them without discrimination, is unworthy of us, and will recoil on us as a nation.

It is painful and humiliating to have to confess that in some of our dealings with the Filipinos we seem to be following more or less closely the example of Spain. We have established a penal colony; we burn native villages near which there has been an ambush or an attack by insurgent guerrillas; we kill the wounded; we resort to torture as a means of obtaining information. . .

Another technique is the so-called rope cure which is described in the *Chicago Record Herald*:

A light but strong rope is passed across the throat of the man to be examined. It is crossed behind his back and carried under the armpits, the ends are again brought around the neck and over to the back, turned under the armpits and shoulders, and then the free ends are carried as a girdle around the waist just at the end of the ribs, and tied fast and securely. A stick is put through the ropes where they cross between the shoulders, and then turned to suit. 'Will it make a man talk?' Mr. Loughran was

asked. 'A wooden Indian would make a speech if you give him the rope cure,' he replied. Mr. Loughran says that this was far more effective than the water cure, which is slow. The rope cure often persuaded a native to reveal the hiding place of his gun; and it did it quickly, because he knew that as soon as he consented to talk the stick would be loosened and would fly back, relieving the agony instantaneously. Of course, if the victim should have a weak heart, he might die of shock; but the native Filipino does not seem to be troubled with the malady.

'A Howling Wilderness'

Two famous generals produced by this period were General "Jake" Smith in Samar and General F.J. Bell in Batangas. In a letter to President McKinley on July 12, 1902, Secretary Root stated that Smith had given the following instructions:

"I want no prisoners. I wish you to kill and burn: the more you kill and burn the better you will please me," and further, that he wanted all persons killed who were capable of bearing arms and in actual hostilities against the United States, and did in reply to a question by Major Waller asking for an age limit, designate the limit as ten years of age.

According to Moorfield Story and Marcial P. Lichauco, in their book, *The Conquest of the Philippines by the United States*: "The accused bore his trial like a man. He admitted giving the orders. He did not seek to excuse them on the ground that his words were reckless talk—on the contrary, he sought to justify them. On the solidary question, therefore, of whether or not he had given the order the reviewing officers of high rank found him guilty and sentenced him to be admonished."

This, of course, was enough punishment for a man who after all was only doing his duty, albeit a bit overzealously, to make the God-forsaken island of Samar safe for democracy, and its near-savage people better qualified to profit from American tutelage.

Incidentally, all the current Filipino protestations against the brutalities of American military authorities in military bases do not take into consideration that the guilty personnel who have been shipped home to escape Philippine justice may have also been meted the supreme penalty of admonition and reprimand.

General Bell, not to be outdone by his colleague, General Smith, established his own claim to the gratitude of the Filipino people with his efficiently humane policies. In a report dated December 26, 1901, this gallant soldier proudly sets forth the tremendous job he has assigned himself:

... I take so large a command for the purpose of thoroughly searching each ravine, valley and mountain peak for insurgents and for food, expecting to destroy everything I find outside the towns. All able-bodied men will be killed or captured.

As a result of General Bell's devoted labours, thousands were thrown into prison and, curiously enough, many died there. If we are to believe the records, they died in prison of various types of illnesses.

The population of Batangas in 1899 before Gen. Bell's fortuitous arrival was 312,192. In 1903 there were only 257,715 Batangueños left. This commendable attempt of Gen. Bell and his minions to solve the problem of population explosion in Batangas coincidentally resulted in weeding out those undesirable elements who senselessly refused to accept benevolent American rule. It is sad to note, however, that Gen. Bell's zealous efforts were not completely successful, for Batangas still harbours to this day enough of these undesirables to be characterized as a hotbed of nationalists, led by the most ungrateful ultra-nationalist of all—the notorious Claro M. Recto.

New Vistas Through the English Language

In the long run the Americans were able to suppress the resistance of the Filipinos who persisted in their unreasonable desire for independence. A half century of American rule

followed, and it was during this period that the Americans demonstrated by words and by deeds their true benevolence, for everything they did for and to this country, they said they did for love of their little brown wards. To mention only a few of these charitable deeds:

The Americans established a system of education using English as a medium of instruction. This induced the Filipinos to forget their barbaric past, including the unwholesome lessons of the revolutionary firebrands of 1896. Moreover, English opened new vistas of Western culture to their dazed eyes and enabled them to write poetry about autumn and winter and snow on the fir trees, to know more of Paul Revere and less of Apolinario Mabini, to sing nostalgically about "My Old Kentucky Home" and "White Christmas."

But more important because of greater practical value primarily to the Filipinos and only incidentally to United States businessmen, their rudimentary command of English enabled Filipino citizens to import Hollywood movies, to purchase large quantities of American publications, and to consume a phenomenal amount of American-made goods. From Hollywood movies, the Filipinos imbibed many valuable lessons on life, love, Apaches, gangsters, and sex. Because they now possessed the advantage of reading in English, the eyes of Filipinos were opened to the wonderful world of Batman and Superman, the exciting underworld of Mickey Spillane, and the out of this world reporting of *Time* magazine. Their possession of English enabled the Filipinos to understand the masterpieces of advertising prose and thus elevated their hitherto brutish tastes so that now they ride in flamboyant cars and proudly chew gum, smoke virginia cigarettes, and drink sparkling soft drinks. A concrete evidence of the educative effects of American advertising on Filipino throats may be found in the data on soft drinks and beverages. The yearly consumption of soft drinks and other beverages of 23,000,000 Filipinos is nearly 2,000,000,000 bottles or roughly 100 bottles per person including babies and centenarians.

Reciprocal Relations

In trying to spare the Filipino from the rigours of industrialization and to preserve the idyllic pastoral economy so suitable to their generally childlike nature, the Americans introduced a trade pattern for the islands which assured these people an unlimited supply of ready-made American goods and in return gave them magnanimously limited quotas for their raw material exports to the American markets. They were so solicitous about the welfare of their wards that even when formal independence was finally recognized, they spared their Filipino proteges the risks of over-development through industrialization by continuing the benevolent colonial pattern under the Bell Trade Act.

White Man's Justice

But this concern was not limited to the economic field, for desirous of protecting the Filipinos from Communist aggression, the Americans established and retained military bases and equipped the Philippine army with obsolete weapons. Of course, in the military bases, the superior American soldier had to be assured of real white man's justice by removing him from the pale of unreliable Oriental law. This, however, really constitutes one more instance of paternal solicitude, for in removing American criminal offenders from the jurisdiction of Philippine courts, the U.S. army is in effect relieving the congestion of Filipino court dockets. Anyway, most of the criminal offences committed by American service men are minor matters such as running over slow-moving pedestrians or maltreating and raping unaccommodating Filipina hostesses.

ECONOMIC LIFE

The Filipinos are indeed a lucky people for they are allowed to share in the economic life of the country. There are a few Filipino manufacturers, businessmen, and importers. There are many Filipino market vendors, beauty salon proprietors, dressmakers, and tailors, and gasoline

station operators. Filipinos practically monopolize labour, sidewalk vending, and jeepney driving. Enterprising Filipinos have even taken over from the Chinese the lucrative and distinguished occupation of buying and selling old newspapers and empty bottles.

According to the Chairman of the National Economic Council, non-Filipinos control seventy per cent of Philippine foreign trade and eighty per cent of domestic trade. According to the census of 1948, the total non-Filipino assets in the Philippines for seven major industry groups; namely, forestry, transportation, mining, electricity, fisheries, manufacturing and commerce, constituted 48.1 per cent of the total assets. In other words, 23,000,000 Filipinos owned only a little more of the assets in these industries than less than 1/2 million foreigners. It must be borne in mind that the share in the national wealth classified as belonging to Filipinos includes that owned by naturalized Filipinos. The native-born Filipinos, therefore, own considerably less than the figures mentioned above.

In so far as the dollar quotas are concerned, the chairman of the NEC states:

During the periods 1956, 1957 and 1958, out of the total regular dollar quotas allocated by the Central Bank, Filipinos (including the naturalized ones) were granted 48.12 per cent, 47.80 per cent, and 43.44 per cent, respectively. During the same period, foreigners were allocated 51.88 per cent, 52.20 per cent, and 56.56 per cent, respectively, which showed increasing trends in contrast to the decreasing Filipino participation or share.

These are government figures based on formal registration of ownership and consequently do not take into consideration the widespread institution of the dummy. If they did, Filipino participation would be found to be considerably lower.

CLOUDS IN THE HORIZON

In spite of their participation in the economic life of the country, the Filipinos today are becoming increasingly dissatisfied with their position. Unfortunately, they are losing their traditional virtues of humility and hospitality and imbibing the harmful spirit of modern materialism. This makes them greedy and quite unreasonable. They believe that just because they were here first and are numerically preponderant, this is primarily their own country, and they should have a greater share of its resources. These are fallacies, of course, and are disturbing the special relations between the Philippines and the United States. Any deterioration of these relations, for whatever cause, weakens the solidarity of the free world at a time when all nations must forget their petty grievances and rally behind the leadership of the United States.

The disturbances in the traditionally happy Philippine-American relations may be laid squarely at the door of today's nationalists and the Garcia administration which instituted the Filipino First policy. The machinations of these nationalists have been so successful that they have already infected the majority of the Filipinos with the incurable madness of nationalism. Before the few Filipinos who happily still remain untouched by this insanity succumb to the malady, it is the considered opinion of the writer that they be transported immediately to the United States under the leadership of the Grand Alliance and those of the Liberal Party who have proven their loyalty to America. There they will find a haven which they richly deserve.

As for the nationalists, these misguided elements who have sorely tried American patience and forbearance should be given their just desserts. They should be made to remain in this country and forced to solve its numerous problems without American technical advisers, develop its resources without American aid, and shoulder the burdens of independent existence.

If, after instituting their ill-conceived nationalist policies,

the country becomes industrialized and prosperous and inherits the problems common to wealthy nations, the nationalists will have no one to blame but themselves.

THE FILIPINO ELITE*

The deepening crisis of our society is graphically depicted in the Bureau of Census Study on Family Income. The figures presented by the Bureau reveal a startling picture of acute social inequality. Almost 70% of Filipino families have an income of less than ₱2,500 and fully 46% earn less than ₱1,500 a year. On the other hand, only 2.6% of Filipino families receive over ₱10,000.¹ While the census study is timely, it nevertheless has its shortcomings in its manner of classification. Considering the inflated state of our currency and the higher cost of living in urban areas where most of the higher income families live, we can hardly accept the Bureau of Census inclusion of those with incomes of ₱10,000 as members of the elite. The true Filipino elite would therefore constitute considerably less than 2% especially if the study included foreign families. This is the group which together with foreign corporations arrogates unto itself the bulk of the nation's wealth because it wields both economic and political power.

POWER AND THE ELITE

Traditionally, leadership in our country has come from this elite. In the isolated instances when our leaders have come from outside this group, they have been absorbed and made part of the elite both by their quickly gained affluence and by the close relationship with the elite that they had had to build up as a political exigency.

*Graphic, September 18, 1968.

Because the concentration of economic and political power in their hands gives this elite control over the destinies of the bulk of our population, it is imperative that we consider the broad historical origins and the development of this group so that we may judge for ourselves whether it can or cannot secure for our people the life of freedom, dignity, and material well-being that is their right. Foreign and local writers characterizing the local situation as "explosive" have pointed to the growing "anger" of the disprivileged. To complete the picture we must also examine the opposite pole—the elite who can be the possible catalysts of this heralded explosion. Also, a historical discussion of the origin and composition of this elite may serve to help some of its members to take a critical look at themselves and perhaps re-examine the direction of their activities, the nature of their goals and their role in present and future history. At the outset, we must note that there are exceptions to the general conclusions offered herein. For various reasons, some members of the elite may not behave in strictly elitist ways.

THE ILLUSTRADOS

The Filipino elite has been and still is a sub-elite within the framework of colonial relationships. It has been and still is an elite based on wealth; nurtured on the dominant culture and speaking the colonizer's language. It has a core that controls vast economic spheres and a peripheral support that has a stake in the preservation of the *status quo*.

Philippine society during the latter part of the Spanish period saw the emergence of an elite group—the *ilustrados*. As the choice of the term itself implies historians have emphasized the education of this elite rather than its property base. While it is true that some *ilustrados* were not as rich as others, it must be remembered that during this period education was almost exclusively the prerogative of wealth. The rich were wise and the wise were rich. Money and culture separated them from the masses.

THE FIRST FILIPINOS²

As a matter of fact the term *Filipino* started as an elitist concept with racial connotations. *Filipino* was used to designate the *creoles* or the Spaniards born in the Philippines, in contrast to the *peninsulares* or those who were born in the Iberian peninsula. The natives were called *indios*. The real colonial elite was limited to the *peninsulares*—Spanish officialdom and the Spanish clergy—though the “Filipinos” or *creoles* who were in the social and political periphery were considered as part of the broader spectrum of the ruling class because their race assured them social status just below the *peninsulares*.

These *creoles*, however, did not have the same opportunities as their Iberian brothers in the political, clerical and economic fields. Their material aspirations were often thwarted by the policies of their *peninsular* brethren. Their grievances gave rise to feelings of resentment. Consequently, the Filipino Spaniards, like their *creole* counterparts in South America, had an ambivalent attitude towards both Spain and the Philippines. As Spaniards, they felt a sentimental pull towards their mother country, but in contrast to the *peninsulares*, they also developed a certain loyalty to their place of birth where they had grown roots. In a very real sense they had become “hijos del pais”—sons of the country. The *peninsular* knew that sooner or later he would return to his native land, that he was at most on an extended visit in this country. His interests and family ties were mainly in Spain. The Filipino Spaniard was economically and emotionally based in the Philippines. While culturally and socially a Spaniard, he realized that he was more at home in the Philippines than in Spain. Moreover, he was considered by the populace as part of the ruling elements here. In Spain he would be, at best, among equals and therefore, possibly a non-entity.

Their economic position and the liberalizing influence of education on them brought the leading *creoles* into conflict with the religious oligarchy and the exponents of Spanish

restrictive policies over the colonies. The original "Filipino" was therefore both a colonial and an anti-colonial. He was a purveyor of Catholicism and at the same time an anti-clerical. He was for the progress of the Philippines because it meant the progress of his class. Yet this same class position did not allow him in the beginning to toy with ideas of independence because this might mean the end of his group as a participant in the ruling process. He was therefore essentially only for reforms that would enable him and his group to prosper. The Philippines to the *creolè ilustrado* was the world of the Filipino-Spaniards with the native elite as allies. Both were the beneficiaries of the authoritarian system of Spanish rule and were, in favour of its continuance with appropriate modifications.

THE PRINCIPALIA

The natives or *indios*, except for the *principalia*, formed the base of the colonial pyramid. The *principalia* was composed of the wealthy landowners, many of whom were descendants of the early *datus*. They became adjuncts of Spanish power, having been entrusted with fiscal and administrative duties. Through the illicit extraction of part of the tribute and the *polo* assessments, they were able to acquire more wealth. Their eventual acquisition by formal ownership of vast landholdings which formerly belonged to the *barangays* added to their social prestige. From mere administrators of socially owned land during the pre-Magellanic period, they eventually became formal owners of these lands. They became auxiliary members of the ruling class composed of the Spanish *encomendados*, the missionary orders and other Spaniards who were given royal privileges.³

THE CHINESE MESTIZOS

A third group within the emerging Philippine elite was composed of Chinese *mestizos*, the fruits of Sino-Filipino marriages. They were a class which was considered more

productive than the *indios*, a fact confirmed by their position in the tribute lists. They paid double the tribute levied on the *indio* because they were supposed to have twice the earning capacity of the latter. The subsequent expulsion of the Chinese and the restriction on their re-entry after the British Occupation propelled the Chinese *mestizos* to prosperity. They took the place of the Chinese in the economy of the colony and became an affluent class. According to the enlightening study of Edgar Wickberg on the Chinese in Philippine life, by the first half of the 19th century the Chinese *mestizos* had a virtual monopoly of wholesale and retail trade, had acquired vast landholdings, had entered the professional ranks and had developed a sophisticated version of Hispanic culture. They were cashing in on the evolving export economy by collecting agricultural crops and distributing manufactured goods. They became the intermediaries between the rising foreign capitalist firms and the growing export industries.

These *mestizos* however were not Chinese in orientation. Their Filipino mothers had seen to their Catholicization and Hispanization. Because of their wealth, they were able to send their sons to study in Manila and abroad. These in turn became the agents of further Hispanization of their group. Many of them merged with the *principalia*.

AGENTS OF HISPANIZATION

The native and *mestizo*-Sangleys *ilustrados*, like the Españoles-Filipinos, had an ambivalent attitude towards Spain and their native country. Their education was Spanish, and the mental conditioning they received was Castilian. They looked to Spain as their mother country. They aped their superiors and aspired to be like them. Yet despite their wealth, they were not and could never be Spaniards. The Spaniards tolerated them as allies but the racial barrier and the economic restrictions on their position made them conscious of their inferior status and gave rise to the resentment that they secretly nursed. They were

therefore pro-Spanish and at the same time anti-Spanish. They were natives and yet they were different from the bulk of their countrymen. Property had separated them from the masses. Education and culture further emphasized the bifurcation of society.⁴

Thus the propertyless masses were ruled by the imperial country aided by a local oligarchy. Like the masses, the native *ilustrados* suffered from mistreatment although to a lesser degree. But they also enjoyed some of the privileges of rule. They were therefore for reforms which would secure for them equality with the Spaniards and hence legitimize their status as members of the ruling class. They voiced the general sentiment of the masses for justice and their rights although more often than not their advocacies merely sprang from selfish motivations. In one sense they were Filipino patriots but their patriotism was different from that of the rest of their countrymen.

THE SPANISH MESTIZOS

The emergence of the *cacique* class from the ranks of the native *principalia* and the landed *mestizo*-Sangleys made them the target of wealth-seeking Spaniards who married into this native aristocracy. The result was the Spanish-*mestizos*. These Eurasians in contrast to the early Spanish *mestizos*, were no longer regarded with contempt as bastard fruits of clerical and military liaisons with the native women. Because of their wealth and education they too were regarded as part of the aristocracy.

To summarize: The emerging local elite during the last days of Spanish rule were the *creoles*, the Chinese *mestizos*, the Spanish *mestizos* and the urbanized *indios*. All these groups had property, education and Spanish culture.

The abolition of the tribute lists in the 1880's and the subsequent adoption of a new system of taxation abolished the classification of people according to racial and legal lines since it was becoming clear that ethnic origin and wealth were not correlated. Consequently, individuals had more

freedom of choice to call themselves Spaniards, Chinese or Filipinos. The merger of the *mestizo* and *indio* social system began to take place, the term Filipino was now expanding. The *creoles* and Spanish *mestizos*, the Chinese *mestizos*, and the members of the *principalia* who were urbanized and therefore Hispanized were now becoming known under the generic term—Filipino. Filipino was thus acquiring a larger area of application, although the leadership was still Hispanic in language, custom and culture.

HISPANIZE TO FILIPINIZE

Thus, for a time, the term Filipino was applied mainly to those who were Hispanized. The object of Hispanizing the *indio* was to make him a Filipino for the term originally applied to Spaniards. The *ilustrados* believed that Hispanization was the basis of being a Filipino. Consequently, there was a definite reformist element in their struggle against Spain. A study of the role of the *ilustrados* during the last decades of the 19th century would show that their main aim was the thorough Hispanization of the Philippines so that it might deserve to become a province of Spain. They merely wanted the Filipinos to be Spaniards and never fully entertained the idea of separating from Spain. They were essentially assimilationist, not separatist. This was to be a fatal source of weakness of the Revolution when these leaders took over. From the propertied and Hispanized elements came the seeds of compromise just as the early collaborators with the Americans would later spring from the same source.

REVOLUTIONARIES AND REFORMISTS

During the Katipunan revolt, these *ilustrados* were not part of the mainstream of the movement. Bonifacio Jacinto and the Katipuneros were revolutionaries. Their "simplicity and directness of purpose" readily attracted a mass following. They had no hesitancy in fighting for

independence. The Katipunan, according to Dapen Liang, was "an expression of the lower class in the growth of Filipino national consciousness." But with the rising tide of revolt the *ilustrados* stepped into the picture. Bonifacio was deposed. The leadership of the movement fell into *ilustrado* hands. The inevitable result of the change in leadership was compromise, the pact of Biak-na-Bato. It is significant to note that while the *ilustrados* during the reform movement used Spanish, Bonifacio, Jacinto and the other Katipunan leaders invariably used Tagalog. When the Malolos Republic was organized, Spanish again became the language of the leadership.

THE FILIPINOS AS A NATION

The *ilustrados* had articulated the goals of the masses as also their own. By involving the masses in their early reformist movement, they were merely utilizing the people for their narrow ends—or so they thought. They were like the French bourgeois revolutionaries who deluded the French people into thinking that they shared the same goals.

Actually, the *ilustrados* performed their progressive role when their propaganda efforts on behalf of the Filipinos made the masses aware of their national identity, so that when the Philippine Revolution erupted, the term *Filipino* which had begun as a concept with narrow social application and later developed to delineate an elite group characterized by wealth, education and Hispanic culture, finally embraced the entire nation and became a national identification. This was a historic moment when it seemed that those covered by the term had the same goals and were an undifferentiated whole. The irreversible gain which history will credit to the *ilustrado* was the acceptance by the people of the idea of equality and the concept of nationhood.

LEADERS AND LED

The masses, despite their heroic feats during the Revolution, continued to look up to the vacillating, opportunistic *ilustrados* as their leaders because they had been used to a life of obeying their superiors. They had come to believe that they were destined to follow. They did not realize that their incompetence was only born of deprivation, that their lack of capacities was not inborn but was the result of exploitation and denial. They did not have the necessary sophistication to realize that their leaders had selfish purposes.

The *ilustrado* viewpoint of the role of the masses in the social scheme is best exemplified by the statement of Don Vicente Ilustre, a member of the Philippine Commission and regarded by some as the model of Isagani in Rizal's *Filibusterismo*. Claiming before the members of the American Congressional party headed by Secretary Taft in 1905 that we were capable of independence, Ilustre reasoned out that:

If the Philippine Archipelago has a governable popular mass called upon to obey and a *directing class* charged with the duty of governing, it is in condition to govern itself. These factors, not counting incidental ones, are the only two by which to determine the political capacity of a country; an entity that knows how to govern, the *directing class*, and an entity that knows how to obey, the *popular masses*.⁵

The following statement of Taft in 1908 is likewise revealing:

The educated Filipino is an aristocrat by Spanish association. He prefers that his children should not be educated at the public schools, and this accounts for the large private schools which the religious orders and at least one Filipino association are able to maintain. . .

To the 'Ilustrado,' the ignorance of the remainder of the people, admitted to be dense, made no difference. . . on the whole, however, there is reason for believing that were the government of the islands turned over to the

class which likes to call itself the ruling class, the movement initiated by the present government to educate the ignorant classes would ultimately lose its force.

The candour with which some of the representatives of the independista movement have spoken of the advantage for governmental purposes of having 80 per cent of the people in a serving or obedient class indicates this.⁶

The *ilustrados* who were Spanish-oriented were soon to fall victims to the impact of Saxonization. But then their economic position was on the ascendant and they had to adjust to the new culture. Politics became a channel of recognition within the limited colonial framework. The American system of education started the Americanization process. The children of the elite became American-oriented and a new horde of American-educated Filipinos increased the tribe of colonial supporters. Anti-colonialism was still rampant among the followers of Sakay and the old Katipuneros but the ranks of the new *ilustrados* were rapidly increasing. Many an intelligent Filipino was absorbed into their ranks. Professional, monetary and political rewards awaited those young men who now were oriented towards America. Even sincere nationalists within these ranks had to adjust their goals to the new ground rules. The colonization process was pursued subtly. The compromising attitude of the *ilustrados* was soon forgotten. They had now become the symbols of success. Self-government could be safely granted to them. Moreover, the type of independence that was later "granted" not only conformed to American policies; it was also a reflection of the nature of *ilustrado* leadership.

The *ilustrados* therefore became not only the economic and cultural leaders, they also became politically influential. Today, we find their descendants in high places in the economic, political, and educational fields. Their capacity to adjust to various situations has won them success. They have been the gainers in all regimes and in successive changes of administration.

THE NEW ILUSTRADOS

The public school system ended the monopoly on education of the propertied. The ranks of the intelligentsia have grown. The descendants of the old *ilustrados* no longer dominate the intellectual field although many have entrenched themselves in the economic life of the country. Because education is no longer the exclusive prerogative of the rich, the intelligentsia of today is not coterminous with the elite unlike the *ilustrados* of the Spanish times. In other words, the wise are not necessarily rich and the rich of today need not even be wise. However, because of the colonial orientation of education and in pursuit of economic gains, the majority of the educated end up in the service of our elite or of their foreign principals. The new *ilustrados* are no longer leaders but dependents and followers of the elite. They constitute the corps of attendants, ideologists and apologists of the elite.

The new *ilustrados* are assuming the role which the old *ilustrados* played during the Spanish regime. Some display an ambivalent attitude reminiscent of the *ilustrados* of old. At times, they identify themselves with American and at other times differentiate themselves from her. They are "nationalists" and at the same time anti-nationalists. In so far as their economic aspirations clash with the interests of the foreigners, they are "nationalists" but in so far as their efforts are economically rewarded by the colonial powers, they are Americanophiles. Their culture and ideology is characterized by a growing separation from the rest of the population.

From the intelligentsia also come some of the theoreticians of the nationalist movement. These intellectuals have consciously turned their backs on the material rewards offered by the elite and foreign business to cast their lot with the people. On the other hand, the intellectuals who allow themselves to be bribed by the colonial power and the indigenous ruling class become the defenders of the system. While the old *ilustrados* played for a time a

progressive though opportunistic role, the new *ilustrados* now play thoroughly opportunistic and reactionary roles.

American policies were directed towards strengthening the colonial nature of our economy and so inevitably the sub-elite of Spanish society became the sub-elite of the American period. This elite increased their land holdings, engaged in export industries, cashed in on free trade and are now enjoying economic and political power.

"CASE AFFLUENCE"

Americanization became the predominant characteristic of the new elite. These who with some foreigners belong to what the Bureau of Census calls the "statistical elite" comprise merely 2.6 per cent of the population. Of course, the bulk of this 2.6 per cent are not the real elite. Mostly, they are the organization men who are there not because of class affluence but because of "case affluence," being men who by their American style of work and by techniques of conformity have advanced themselves into the higher income brackets. Some are politicians, others are bureaucrats who have a vested interest in the *status quo*. They have acquired American habits and share in the bulk of the national income, for the elite has become a quarter of American imperialism.

NEGATION OF THE ILUSTRADO

Where the clerics opposed the popularization of the Spanish language, the Americans made English an instrument of conquest. Through the elite, American ways are being constantly inculcated among the people. New additions are being made to the elite but at the same time they are being divorced from the people. The education that has been made an instrument of colonialism is turning out to be a double-edged weapon for among the awakened are those who, because they cannot enter the elitist class or because they patriotically refuse that opportunity for personal

material advancement, are becoming more and more identified with the people. They have come to articulate the aspirations of the masses and in turn the masses are awakening to their real potentialities. Education which was the earmark of the *ilustrado* has abolished the *ilustrado* class in the old sense. Education and wisdom are no longer a monopoly of wealth.

THE "INS" AND THE "OUTS"

Where the Filipino elite started as a non-Filipino group because the basis was racial, the Filipino elite of today is becoming anti-Filipino because of material interests. This is due to its identification with foreign interests and foreign ways and to the use of a foreign language. They may be the native elite, but they are still a sub-elite within an essentially colonial framework. Where the *ilustrados* of old tried to use their Hispanism to forge an identity separate from that of the colonial power, the new *ilustrados* of today and the elite they serve no longer struggle for real differentiation. They work for assimilation not on racial but on economic lines because capital now transcends national barriers. Of course, there are some individual exceptions. Whether some of our elite will eventually identify themselves with the nationalist connotation of the term Filipino will depend on whether or not they have the patriotism and the integrity to sacrifice personal material interests for the common good.

The elite lines today are clearly demarcated and more and more Filipinos are acquiring an articulated sense of deprivation. Now the people are not voiceless, now they are beginning to see the difference in outlook between themselves and the elite. The elite may feel that they, the 2 per cent, are "in" and all the rest are on the outside looking in. Actually the 2 per cent are the ones outside of our society. Together with foreign firms they may be creating for themselves a situation which they may not be able to control. The elite may yet become, though unwittingly, an agent of social change if it pushes the polarization of society to the

point where the governed will no longer tolerate a "directing class" and will at last realize that they can and should govern themselves, finding the leadership they need from their ranks.

NOTES

THE CORRUPT SOCIETY*

Corruption is not merely a disease of our government. Corruption is a chronic malady of our society. There is a tendency today to view corruption as a phenomenon only of governmental function. This attempt to delimit the range of corruption to the governmental field and to ascribe to it the present plight of the country tends to obscure the real cause of our backwardness and poverty. Are we backward because we are corrupt? Or is there a more basic reason for our economic poverty? Is corruption the cause or is it merely an effect? The attempt to make corruption the primary problem of our national life seeks to make us forget the real cause of our degradation and of our apparently inherent propensity for corrupt activities.

THE VICIOUS CIRCLE

Daily, in the halls of congress, through the printed word and over the airwaves, our politicians and our civic leaders expose, denounce, or deplore this or that government anomaly. During election time the principal issue is always graft and corruption. No wonder public concern is almost exclusively centred on malfeasance in government. But with every change of administration, the problem only becomes aggravated. The panaceas and the grandiose promises fizzle out. The accusers become the accused; the halo of righteousness changes heads. The list of dishonour is different but occupation remains the same. Graft and corruption persist,

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like a cancer gnawing at our entrails, showing no signs of abatement and consigning us to a state of helplessness and hopelessness.

EFFECT NOT CAUSE

Not all the oratorical imprecations hurled against graft and corruption by professional paragons of honesty will change the facts one whit. And we shall continue knocking our heads against the wall as long as we fail to recognize two facts:

1. That government graft is only a part of the larger corruption of our corrupt society; and
2. That this corruption (both the general evil and its particular governmental manifestation) is not the cause of our other problems but the consequence of a fundamental defect in our national life.

Let us first learn to recognize the various faces of corruption.

THE GREATEST CORRUPTION OF ALL

Closely related to wrong-doing in government is the correspondingly corrupt attitude of our people towards official morality. Perhaps the most frightening sign of all is the blithe matter-of-fact acceptance of evil. We might even go so far as to say that the greatest corruption of all is this general acceptance of corruption. Padre Florentino in Rizal's *El Filibusterismo* summarizes this terrible truth for us: "An immoral government presupposes a demoralized people, a conscienceless administration, greedy and servile citizens in the settled parts, outlaws and brigands in the mountains. Like master, like slave! Like government, like country!"

We are demoralized. In our attitude towards government, we exhibit a distorted sense of values. We regard law lightly, and instinctively think of ways and means of circumventing it. We even suspect that sometimes the

makers of laws and their enforcers, before the enactment of these laws, have already put in or found convenient loopholes. Does this disgust us? Does it fill us with righteous indignation? No. Instead, many among us feel admiration for the clever rascals. We envy them their opportunities and we wish we have their audacity. When we meet them socially, do we ostracize them? Do we show our disapproval by shunning their company? No, we bow and we scrape; we smile and we praise. Their lack of scruples has made them rich and powerful, so we are servile and obsequious in their presence. Quite a few of us seek them out, greedily hoping that powerful connections may result in a bonanza for our pockets.

MODERN BRIGANDS

Our acceptance of corruption extends even to the petty government employee, for we accept as standard procedure the necessity of greasing palms whenever we do business with our government. The few who miraculously retain the capacity to be scandalized by corruption are considered naive, Quixotic, impractical gentlemen of the old school, unsuited to the modern world. Unlike Padre Florentino, we need not scour mountains for our modern brigands and outlaws. Our own attitude towards government and laws is curiously similar to that of the outlaw. Anything goes as long as we don't get caught. A little larceny never hurts anyone. If I don't do it, someone else will. If I don't help myself, no one else will.

WE GET WHAT WE DESERVE

Our matter-of-fact acceptance of corruption is nowhere more evident than in the conduct of our elections. We affirm as an elementary truth the proposition that only a man with money should run for office because no one will work for him unless he can give out the pesos (and sometimes the dollars). There is corruption, too, in the idea that a

vote for a candidate is a favour granted him and not an exercise of the right of choice. The validity of party platforms, the examination of a candidate's views, and the consideration of basic issues, seldom play an important part in the voter's choice. He is cowed down by a show of strength and wealth.

One of the most pathetic pictures of corruption is that of a poor voter boasting of the money his candidate is using to buy up the people's votes. The poor man is corrupt but has nothing to show for his corruption except the vicarious thrill of being associated with wealth for a brief period. Indeed, our whole attitude towards elections is corrupt. As rabid followers of this or that candidate, we distort truth, fabricate lies, justify and sometimes participate in all kinds of shady schemes to gain victory. We are more moral about basketball games (expecting fair refereeing and clean playing) than about elections.

The wonder of it is that after the fever of the campaign, we complain about the quality of our leadership. That is unfair. We have no right to expect honour from dishonour, impartial statesmanship from rabid partisanship, intellectual integrity from dishonesty. Thus, in practically every election in the past, we got exactly what we wanted.

THE TRAPPINGS OF EDUCATION

We point proudly to the thousands of educational institutions that abound in this country. As a matter of fact, education is one of our primary forms of business enterprise. We mass-produce graduates by the thousands. We can be proud of the quantity perhaps, but certainly not of the quality. But this does not worry us, nor the students themselves, because by and large we view education merely as the acquisition of a diploma. Many of those who graduate from college do not practise their professions, anyway. The important thing in this country is to be a professional, to be the possessor of a degree. We strive for the trappings of education and neglect education itself. Herein lies the corruption.

STARTING EARLY

But the corruption in education goes even deeper. It reaches into the daily life of students and teachers. For isn't a student starting to be corrupt when, in his effort to graduate with honours or merely to pass, he seeks the good graces of authoritarian teachers, kowtowing to them, hypocritically agreeing with them, bartering his independence of mind for the teacher's approval? Isn't a student being taught the ways of corruption when he views grades and not learning as the purpose of education? Isn't a student tempted to be corrupt when he tries to fulfill certain requirements, no matter how, because the act of fulfillment and not the learning to be derived from it is considered primary? And if from these students come some of our future educators, shall we not be perpetuating standards of value peculiar to a corrupt society? The recent scandal involving teachers who falsified their records or enrolled for credits but did not attend classes is a sad commentary on the morals of some of those to whom we entrust the character training of the young.

The crux of the whole matter is our corrupt view of education, not as a desirable end in itself, but merely as a means for securing our material goals.

Looking at this corrupt society, one is tempted to say that the only uncorrupted individuals are the children. While young, they are eager for the substance of learning itself. They speak their minds. They question and they disagree. Yet, under corrupt conditions, how quickly they learn how to compete with the other fellow for grades and scores, how readily they adapt themselves to the necessity for hypocrisy, for submission, for unquestioning conformity. The seed of corruption is planted early and grows fast. The most "successful" students possess it to a greater degree.

A SUBSIDIARY ECONOMY

It is not only in education where we strive for the appearance, not the substance of achievement. In the economic field, we are satisfied with the appearance of industrialization and uninterested in pursuing real industrialization. Thus we have packaging plants which in reality merely assemble foreign-made goods. We have industries that do not utilize local raw materials. The principal beneficiaries of these so-called industries are not Filipinos, but foreigners who are gradually owning more and more of our resources and exhausting our dollars in the form of raw material importations and remittances of capital and profits. If they do not remit, their capital grows and so does their control of our resources. If they remit, they exhaust our foreign exchange reserves. These are facts which do not dismay us because the corruption of the national character has distorted our thinking. Businessmen, with a few exceptions, are busy setting up subsidiaries of foreign firms, lining up exclusive distributing rights.

Many unscrupulous individuals are obsessed with the idea of making a "killing," of getting rich overnight without producing anything. They cash in on scarcity, bribe officials or use influence to get special advantages. Their procedures are so unethical that sometimes only a thin line separates a racket from a business. No wonder that, except for a few, these so-called businessmen do not worry about the economic problems of their country nor about its economic future.

LITTLE AMERICA

As a people, we always depreciate what is ours. Local products are discriminated against in our country. Local talent is largely unappreciated, and whatever is recognized as local talent is merely the best imitation of American artistry, proudly labelled as such. There are brave attempts to rediscover our cultural heritage and to reestablish our ties with our past, but our cultural corruption is so pervasive

that the job of rediscovering ourselves is a difficult one. Meanwhile, the majority avidly imitate each new fad of the West.

We take pride in claiming that we are the most literate people in this part of the globe. Much of this self-satisfaction stems from the fact that our medium of instruction is English. We like to think that we can go anywhere and be understood because we are English-speaking. The truth, of course, is that the use of English has cut us off from our cultural heritage but has not opened to our people the best cultural achievements of the English-speaking world. Our poor command of the language makes this impossible. On the other hand, we understand just enough English to make us avid addicts of Western and gangster movies, vulgar song hits, and comics that have become almost the only reading fare of our youth.

CORRUPTED NATIONAL SPIRIT

This is indeed a corrupt society. In all fields of endeavour, practices and standards of value are corrupt. No one can get anywhere without either using corrupt methods, looking the other way when corruption is committed, or supinely accepting the necessity of corrupt practice. The corrupt society produces a corrupt government and such a government aggravates and deepens national corruption.

Corruption in government is not limited to acts of malversation of public funds. Policies, too, may be manifestations of the corrupt spirit. Thus, when in the consideration of over-staying aliens we are more concerned with the plight of the country where these aliens should be returned instead of the effect that these aliens have on the economy of our country we show evidence of corruption. When we show more concern for the interests of foreign investors, when we exhibit an eagerness to barter away our national resources in exchange for aid of dubious value, we demonstrate corruption of national spirit.

THE RANGE OF CORRUPTION

There is a tendency in this country to regard corruption merely as the act of enriching oneself at the expense of public funds. This attempt to limit the range of corrupt activities to speculation serves to becloud the real meaning of national corruption. When we focus our attention only on the get-rich-quick schemes of our officials, we fail to appreciate how widespread corruption is and how deeply it has sunk into each one of us. For a man is corrupt not merely because he peddles influence; he is also corrupt when he deliberately disparages local talent and production in favour of the foreign. A man is corrupt not only when he absconds with company funds; he is also corrupt when he is willing to sacrifice national integrity for the sake of temporary mercenary advantage. A man is corrupt not merely when he buys position for himself or his proteges; he is also corrupt when he denies the ability of his people to surmount the obstacles imposed by colonial bondage. A man is corrupt not merely when, in an effort to enrich himself, he short-sells or uses inferior materials to maximize profit. He is also a corrupt individual when in the pursuit of personal fortune he deliberately engages in economic activities harmful to industrial development. There is corruption of the intellect when politicians do not mean what they say and change their political views according to the exigencies of the moment and for personal advantage. There is corruption of national character when we try to hide what is native and try to ape in a vulgar way Occidental values, morals, and standards. There is corruption of art when we endeavour to look upon this form of activity as an opportunity for commercialism and the imitation of foreign productions. A citizen is also corrupt when he not only neglects but also belittles the works and achievements of our national heroes.

The depth of our corruption at once becomes evident to one who realizes that not only do we fail to consider our social values as corrupt but we actually can feel proud of ourselves and condescending towards our Asian neighbours.

THE BASIC CAUSE

Moralists, civic leaders, and politicians bewail these various forms of corruption but they have not looked at it as an integrated whole. They appeal for a regeneration, for a phoenix rising out of the ashes. In their obsession to impose a new system of morals or to introduce a new political dispensation, they overlook the fact that corruption is not the cause of our present plight. Corruption is merely the consequence of a more basic problem—the problem of our colonial economy and thinking.

The Philippine situation today is a classic example of the effects of colonial rule on the habits, predispositions, and morals of a people. To eliminate the effect, you must eliminate the cause. Only a resolute nationalism can break the chains we ourselves have helped to forge. Only a determined effort to set a nationalistic course for our national life will finally free us of the corruption born of our political, economic, and cultural bondage.

Our corruption is essentially a consequence of our semi-colonial status. Those who try to solve this evil in our society have been dealing with an effect. They have been treating the manifestations of a disease without striking at the disease itself. This is, at best, a palliative measure comparable to relying on an anti-pyretic to cure a fever when what the patient needs is a drug to combat the infection that manifests its presence by the fever. You may succeed in reducing the fever and making the patient temporarily less uncomfortable. But until you eliminate the infection itself, the fever will not disappear permanently.

However, if you do not attend to the infection, it may yet get out of hand, with disastrous consequences. Thus mere palliatives in the form of government reorganizations, anti-graft campaigns, and pious exhortations from grandstand or pulpit may temporarily contain the spread of corruption. But as long as the evil that breeds it remains untouched, new forms of corruption will inevitably arise and re-enforce the old. The longer we postpone a realistic appraisal of our

present status, the more difficult it will be to make the first step toward a real cure for our corrupt society.

OUR SPECIAL RELATIONS WITH THE U.S.

Whether we like it or not, we have to admit that our economic, political, and cultural life as a nation is shaped directly by our "special relations" with the United States. What are the effects of these "special relations" on our economy, on our internal politics and foreign affairs, on our culture, morals, and national character? How have these relations shaped our corrupt society?

Half a century of economic relations with America has perpetuated our agricultural economy. We are helplessly dependent on the United States for all sorts of consumption goods, from cars to toothbrushes.

We have long realized that the solution to our economic poverty lies in industrialization. Until now, however, no resolute steps have been taken to make industrialization a reality. Our government in the past encouraged only a few export crops with a ready U.S. market, thus developing a lopsided economy dependent on a few exports to one country. We failed to develop an industrial economy that would take care of many of our consumption needs. Finished products which local producers can readily supply, using native raw materials and our "know-how", have a tough time fighting off American competition. Because our "special relations" with the U.S. assign to us the role of importer of finished products, our tariff policy has been designed to allow the entry of American products on a preferential basis. No local producer can thrive in competition with an efficient industrial machine ready to dump goods at low prices. Textiles, medicines, and other commodities which we could produce could never survive the onrush of American commodities. We export raw materials instead of processing them into finished products which we can consume and perhaps export. The value we derive from these raw materials cannot compare with the value we could

get from them as finished products.

WASTED TALENTS

Furthermore, because we do not process our own raw materials, industrial opportunities for employment of capital, labour, and talent are sadly lacking. Thus, people who have the drive and the talent to enter the production field and make their fortunes by producing what we need bend their efforts towards devising get-rich schemes or become agents of foreign firms. Men who, under a progressive economy, would perhaps develop into enterprising leaders of industry can become at best only highly-paid employees of foreign interests, with the corrupting influence on character that such a denial of talent implies. Those who strike out on their own make their fortune in buying and selling or by concluding more or less shady deals. Business talent denied socially useful expression by the stagnant colonial economy becomes corrupted and socially harmful.

THE BIGGEST EMPLOYER

Another bad consequence of the lack of opportunity for employment in the economic field is that the government becomes the biggest dispenser of business contracts as well as employment. This makes of government such a rich plum that to secure it, many men are willing to indulge in the most corrupt election practices. Its position as the biggest employer results in another form of corruption. The pressure on politicians to provide jobs for their men is so great that merit and seniority in the civil service are set aside. This corrupts both the deserving and undeserving employees or job-seekers because they must rely on "padrinos" instead of doing a good job or improving their qualifications. With the destruction of the merit system, we develop the worst type of bureaucrat, interested only in personal advancement, doing the minimum amount of work, obsequious and servile to his superiors, and eager to use the resources of

government for his private benefit.

NO SENSE OF SHAME

A particularly harmful manifestation of our corruption is our lack of appreciation for our resources. We are squandering our patrimony without regard for the right of future generations. We waste our resources in two ways: by our criminal disregard for the laws on conservation, and by our equally criminal propensity to aid aliens in amending or circumventing those laws, which are designed precisely to reserve the resources of this country for its citizens. Centuries of domination have succeeded in eliminating from our national character that sense of jealous possession that animated Lapu-Lapu and his men when they fought to preserve their land and treasure for themselves. After centuries of foreign control and foreign enjoyment of our resources, we no longer value the treasures of our lands and seas. So we use them indiscriminately, destroying our forests, dynamiting our fish, content with making "a fast buck." And when aliens wish to extract fortunes from our natural resources, we readily consent to be their dummies. In our complete corruption, we feel no sense of treachery, no sense of shame.

OUR NATIONAL INFERIORITY COMPLEX

Our subordinate status exercises a subtle corrupting influence on all of us. By constantly comparing the achievements of America with our own, we develop an inferiority complex which manifests itself in servility and blind imitation. In government, this servility is revealed by the alacrity with which we follow the suggestions of foreign advisers, official or not. So closely have we paralleled American foreign policy that we are often accused of not having a foreign policy of our own.

The repressive policies of Spain and our own enthusiastic acceptance of American culture have both worked to cut us

off from our Asian heritage. Possessing neither a distinct body of traditions nor even a stable racial personality, we have been indulging in an orgy of blind imitation of foreign education, art, culture, and even manners and morals. Cut off from our past, feeling like a displaced nation in Asia, we are unable to assimilate intelligently and with discrimination. We behave like children in a room full of new toys. We take up each new foreign idea, imitate it quickly, and discard it just as quickly for something more novel.

Another manifestation of our inferiority complex is our disparagement of ourselves, our ideas and achievements, and our products. We are so certain of our inferiority vis-a-vis the Western world that we automatically prefer anything labelled "not made in the Philippines."

DOLLAR CRUTCHES

Perhaps the most widespread corruption arising from our intimate relations with a bigger power is one which may be described as a weakening of the spine. Our consumption tastes have been pampered by the influx of foreign products. We have grown fat and flabby on a profusion of luxuries we can ill afford. Used to a self-indulgent way of life, we fear austerity. We do not believe in denying ourselves commodities not essential to survival because our consumption habits have been corrupted by a kind of false prosperity. From long practice, we have acquired the habit of dumping all our problems onto Uncle Sam's lap, there to be solved by more dollar grants. We do not want to secure a bright future by present denials. Our special relations with America gave us crutches which we don't want to throw away. We got used to these crutches. We are afraid to walk without them.

THE ONLY SOLUTION

How shall we combat corruption? What can we do to strengthen the national spine? What solutions can we find for our problems? We can combat corruption and national apathy by a resurgence of nationalism. The only solutions to our problems are nationalist solutions.

Weak nationalism characterizes the corrupt society. It is a society satisfied with the empty shell of formal independence, whose politics reflects the policies and predilections of the dominant power, whose economy is subsidiary to the economy of this foreign country, and whose culture and social life are dominated and shaped by the culture and social life of this nation. To struggle against the conditions that nullify independence is the task of the nationalist.

An indication that our nationalism is weak is the commonly accepted view that nationalism is no longer a valid issue, that we have solved the problems of independence, that nationalism has certain subversive implications.

THE MEANING OF NATIONALISM

What is Nationalism? Nationalism is not just an empty word full of emotional appeal. It is the expression of a reality—that we have a country of our own, which must be kept our own. Its political expression is independence. This means much more than formal recognition of our separate existence. It means the freedom to plan and work out our national goals without outside interference and with our national interest as the principal criterion. Economically, nationalism desires the conscious control and management of our resources. It accepts the aid and cooperation of its technologically more advanced sister nations but it insists on full control of its economic destiny. Culturally, the goal of nationalism is the development of a Philippine culture that has its roots in our own heritage, admits of foreign influences but retains its distinct and separate identity.

ANTIDOTE FOR CORRUPTION

How would a resurgence of nationalism eliminate many of the corrupt practices and values of our society? Nationalism would provide a strong rallying point for united action. Knowing that they have chosen to take their country's future in their own hands, our people would initiate a sober stocktaking of our potentialities. Under the guidance of nationalistic leaders, there could be a common striving for the national good. Pride in and enthusiasm for this independent undertaking would gradually instill in the people the will to sacrifice present convenience for future prosperity. It would then be possible for our government to carry out those policies that would result in a diminution of our dependence on foreign goods in order to develop local production of our needs.

A nationalistic people would be willing to undergo temporary privation as long as they feel this will insure the achievement of the goals they themselves have chosen. Such a feeling of stern resolve would reduce some forms of corruption to a minimum. For example, there would be strong social disapproval of profiteering and blackmarketing, and public opinion is often a stronger deterrent than legal punishment. Great Britain, during the second world war, experienced such a strong resurgence of nationalism that it was possible to adopt the most stringent forms of self-sacrifice with the full cooperation of the citizenry.

REBIRTH OF NATIONAL DIGNITY

Nationalism would restore the dignity and the pride of a people who have lost them because of years of mendicancy. Within the country, this would mean a stronger public opinion against graft and corruption in government because the people care about what the world thinks of their government. It would also mean that, in line with the administration's nationalistic policy on natural resources, the people would be aware of their solemn duty to them-

selves and to future generations to conserve their patrimony. Aside from the results that a resolute drive for conservation would produce, the people themselves, now jealous of their country's resources, would resist all attempts by foreigners to strengthen their economic foothold. Gone would be the colonial subservience which paved the way to fortune for many an adventurer. Instead, aided by a government which would see to it that Filipinos are given a preferential position in their own country, we Filipinos could successfully compete with foreigners in the economic field.

THE ECONOMIC ASPECT OF NATIONALISM

A nationalist economic programme could mean only one thing—industrialization. The economic opportunities created by such a programme would be tremendous, and a nationalistic administration supported by a nationalistic citizenry would make sure that the fruits of economic progress would be harvested primarily by Filipinos. Such a widening of economic horizons would lessen the pressure for employment in the government. The re-establishment of a sound civil service would then be possible. Furthermore, a new era of productivity could create new values, new standards of success. Prestige and financial reward would go to those who pioneer in new economic fields. The efficient entrepreneur would be the man to admire and to emulate. This would give the twin rewards of social prestige and wealth to those who produce socially desired goods with local labour and raw materials.

THE END OF MENDICANCY

There have been voices raised against nationalism which predict that a reawakening of nationalism would result in deterioration of our special relations with the United States. If by deterioration is meant a diminution of our dependence on American aid apace with greater reliance on our own capacities and resources, than I am afraid these timorous

Cassandras are right. Actually what nationalism will bring about is a reassessment of our relations so that we can meet the United States across the conference table as one sovereign nation to another. Our policies would be our own and primarily in defence of our own interests. Aside from the many political and economic advantages such a position would secure, we would be starting to get rid of the servility and submission which are so degrading to a sovereign nation.

Perhaps, too, with the rebirth of national dignity we might be spared the corrupt spectacle of a man who thinks that he can improve his chances for a high public office in this country by enlisting the support of the United States. In the past, such a move may have paid dividends. Certainly in an era of nationalism the corrupt view that the best officials for us are those who can get the most foreign aid would no longer obtain. For we would be thinking more in terms of self-help, and our solutions to our problems would be based on our own resources rather than on hand-outs from Uncle Sam. We can be certain that our growth in self-reliance and national dignity will be applauded by those in America who cherish their own historical tradition of self-reliance and dignity.

CULTURAL RENASCENCE

The corruption in our culture and in our educational system arising from our false sense of values and our blind imitation of everything foreign would likewise diminish and finally disappear. In its stead there would be a dynamic appraisal of our cultural heritage, a return to our past as the starting point for the development of a distinctly Filipino culture. Inspired by nationalism, the intelligentsia would enter into an era of fresh productivity in all fields encouraged by their countrymen's appreciation of their worth.

HOPEFUL SIGNS

At this point the question may be asked, how shall all this be achieved? How spark a reawakening of the nationalist spirit? How secure the initiation of nationalist policies? No far-reaching change can be achieved overnight, of course, but we do have a starting point.

The present administration has in the past made pronouncements of a nationalist nature. The austerity programme correctly implemented could have been the opening salvo of economic nationalism. The initial proposal to limit fuel importation was proof of this. Such a limitation would have meant tapping our alcohol resources as a local substitute and this in turn could have meant new forms of economic activity. Of course, various pressures were exerted to rescind this policy. This is understandable. The pity is that the Filipino people who would have been the ultimate beneficiaries of austerity, short-sightedly preferred present convenience to future gains. Their adverse reaction constituted additional pressure for the maintenance of our dependence on foreign importations. The austerity programme degenerated into a temporary means for arresting the rapid dollar outflow.

PRESSURE FROM BELOW

Although we lost that valuable opportunity, there will be others. In a democracy, the government is subjected to all sorts of pressures, and the most vocal, most united pressure groups have the greatest influence on government policy. Pressure in favour of nationalist solutions to our various problems should be constantly exerted so as to counter-balance anti-nationalist pressure. The nationalist pressure should come from the ranks of legitimate industrialists and businessmen who are finding it difficult to compete with foreigners, from the ranks of intellectuals and professionals who can find no opportunity for their talents in a stagnant, corrupt society, from the ranks of the workers and the

peasants for whom a colonial society can provide only a marginal income, and from the ranks of the semi-employed and unemployed who will find job opportunities only under a nationalistic industrialization programme. It is up to these groups, which would be the first beneficiaries of a nationalistic administration, to give our government a push in the right direction.

The alternative is continued poverty, backwardness, and all the ills of the corrupt society.

THE FILIPINO POLITICIAN*

With a few notable exceptions, the Filipino politician presents a pitiful figure. Because of the shallowness, vulgarity, lack of worthy purpose, and unashamed corruption of many politicians, political leadership in the Philippines has lost prestige. Many politicians today are not respected, they are looked upon merely as good connections.

Of course, some politicians of every country possess as inevitable characteristics, a certain sense of opportunism, insincerity, and corrupt tendencies. But these traits are magnified in our society because of the limited purposes of the nation and the circumscribed life of the people.

Politics today is a major occupation. Instead of being considered as an opportunity for service, many political positions have been transformed into means of personal enrichment.

EMPLOYMENT AGENCY FUNCTIONS

The government is the biggest employer and the biggest source of opportunity for temporary security or permanent opulence. The professions are crowded because of the prestige value of non-manual labour. But since these professions cannot thrive successfully in a country whose people have a low purchasing power, many professionals who on their own merit cannot live on their practice either turn to politics or depend on political connections for their livelihood. Thus, many professionals become government

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functionaries through the intercession of a political padrino. Entrance into the government, promotions within the service, and the distribution of political plums depend on the amount of political pull which many civil servants possess or assiduously pursue. Many Filipino politicians find themselves in a position where they have to promise and, as much as possible, to fulfill these promises to their various supporters either for employment or for other favours. These politicians think in terms of the individual benefits that they can dole out to their constituents, whether or not these benefits redound to the national good. Their perspective is limited and their purposes transient. This type of politician does not really participate in the overall determination of the country's goals, the discovery and analysis of the basic problems of the nation, or the delineation of his people's path to prosperity and success. This politician is concerned mainly with the preservation of his position, which in turn depends on the individual satisfaction of the ambitions of his supporters.

The Filipino politician, in effect, is an employment agency. He becomes an expert in letters of recommendation. In the process of job hunting for his loyal constituents, the politician no longer inquires about qualifications. Standards are set aside, and the inefficient and unqualified have a chance which otherwise they would not have under the merit system. The pressure of his constituents for job opportunities prevents the politician from pushing through certain ideas about government economy and public administration to which he might originally have been committed. He takes the easy way out, forgets government efficiency and economy, and readily accedes to plans for the expansion or opening of new offices. For, the more jobs open, the more chances for the accommodation of his proteges.

The pervasive influence of politics in all phases of our national life is the result of the power of government over many sectors. This situation helps the politician because reliance on mere government opportunities would not be

enough to satisfy all his proteges. Employment of his followers in the different private businesses becomes a part of the politician's job. And some private enterprises are only too willing to accommodate certain strategically-placed politicians for favours they have received or may anticipate.

MEN OF STRAW

Is the typical politician, therefore, merely an opportunist, a professional racketeer, apathetic to his country's welfare? Of course, there are those who are chronically corrupt and who see in politics their opportunity for power and riches. But, there are also those who start out in politics with the noblest ideals and the most earnest plans. Because of the nature of their work, however, these individuals soon degenerate. Why is this so?

First, because men with brilliant minds easily slide down to the level of mediocrity due to lack of time for reading, study, and analysis. And why would these politicians lack the time? The politician is a public man. Even his private life is lived publicly. From early morning, he receives callers and, he in turn calls. He stands as padrino to baptisms and weddings. He has to attend parties, asaltos, and conventions. Often he is a professional mourner. If he comes from a province fairly distant from Manila, it is also his job to entertain "visiting firemen." What time does he have left for study? It is not surprising, therefore, that the public utterances of the politician are full of inanities and platitudes. The blame should not be laid only on the fact that he has to speak extemporaneously, but mainly on the more tragic truth that he has not kept up with the times. Profuse quotations from Longfellow are his stock in trade—a clear indication that he is still relying on the intellectual baggage of his high school days.

GOVERNMENT POSITION BECOMES A SIDELINE

The social factor that spurs the politician's intellectual degeneration is augmented by an economic factor. The politician's pay is meagre but his standard of living has to be high. One cannot attend baptisms and weddings and the myriad other social obligations without money. So the politician has to find a second job, if he does not have private means. But, actually, this second job becomes his major occupation and his government position only a valuable sideline productive of useful connections. The moment he secures a major private occupation which has power and influence specially in the field of finance, business, or trade, the politician who is now an employee no longer needs to study, to plan, or to evolve policy. By force of circumstance, the policy is there for him to implement and the study is made for him.

When the interests of these employers are advanced by the same governmental policies that are required for the general advancement of the country, the duality of allegiance of the politician (to his employer and to his country) is not a serious matter. For example, if a Congressman represents Filipino industrial interests, his stand on questions like industrialization, tariffs, etc., while primarily favouring those interests, will not be inimical to the nation as a whole for the simple reason that the prosperity of the nation at this time is intimately linked with the prosperity of the Filipino industrialist. When, however, the interests the politician represents are foreign interests, his dual allegiance will be resolved in favour of those interests and against his people, simply because what is good for those foreign interests seldom coincides with what is good for the country.

The politician is entitled to advisers and assistants in his own government office, especially if he is of congressional rank. But because of the nature of his job as an employment agency and because of the limited number of positions that are at his disposal, merit occupies a low priority in the selection of his staff. The first consideration is reward for the

loyal and those who may be of help in future elections. In some cases, a salary pertaining to a technical position is divided among several political henchmen. Because of the utter lack of merit of his staff, the politician becomes merely a spokesman of the interests of his employers. His views on government policy are dictated by the needs of his employers. His stand on various questions has to be that which will be beneficial to these employers regardless of its effect on the country as a whole. Of course, he justifies his stand in terms of the public good. He becomes quite adept at equating his employer's interests with those of his people.

THE GRAND NULLITY

The politician is like a commodity on the open market. His value is expressed in terms of votes. Commodities are sometimes sold at prices which are very much more than their intrinsic value because of the absence of competition, because of widespread advertising, or because buyers are made to believe that the commodity possesses certain special attributes which allow it to serve for a variety of purposes. The less worthwhile the commodity, the greater must be the reliance of its sellers on eliminating competition, mesmerizing the public with advertising, and claiming for the product special qualities which it does not possess. The politician, too, may fetch in terms of votes a price out of all proportion to his intrinsic merit. This may happen if he has few competitors or if his competitors for public support have equally meagre qualifications. It may also happen if he has systematically used all the media of communication to place his name and person in the public eye, thus exploiting his most inconsequential actions and utterances to the fullest. Finally, a politician may secure a totally undeserved public following by using the tactics of being all things to all men. Like the well-advertised medical cure-all, a politician may, by his intentionally vague public utterances, by his fence-sitting position on current questions, and by private promises of support to contending groups between whom

no compromise is possible, project himself as the possessor of a secret panacea for all men. To please all, one must be nothing. To believe in a little of everything is to believe in nothing at all.

Fortunately for some, real merit is its own best advertiser and a few of our politicians have not found it necessary to use Madison Avenue gimmicks to gain public attention and deserve public support.

Unfortunately, the majority of our politicians have little to offer by way of intellectual achievement or solid service to the people. They must therefore maintain their prestige by dubious means. Luckily, a thriving profession generally called in the United States, Public Relations Counselling, has come to our politician's aid. With certain refinements, the advertising techniques of business are used by these counsellors to sell the politician to the people. The PRO has become the closest confidante and the best friend of the politician. How do the politician and his man Friday operate?

EXPERTS ON MINOR ISSUES

The PRO sees to it that even the most minor actuations of his boss are covered in the papers. Press releases are issued, with the accompanying pictures, and followed assiduously until they see print. The activities of his wife, especially if they are done in the sweet name of Charity, are fully reported, and if there is a pretty daughter, she too is grist for the mill. The politician and his PRO are always on the alert for subjects to comment upon. With an eye to the next election, the politician issues statements on diverse questions, each one calculated to court the approval of a sector of the voting population. Whatever his real views may be, they undergo a process of self-censorship, the criterion being—will my stand on this question be popular with the voters or will it offend a powerful voting group?

The politician knows that the majority of voters love a good fight. He therefore proceeds to castigate his opponents

in colourful language. But is his opposition based on a major issue of economic policy? The typical politician will refuse to engage in a battle over something as abstruse as economics, for a very practical reason. According to him, the public does not understand those subjects and will not, therefore, be interested in the controversy. But a ₱5,000 bed and a \$2.5 million yacht—these are issues that make the politician rub his hands in glee. He can really go to town on them, rant and rave in the best give-me-liberty-or-give-me-death style or shed false tears over the bed-less, yacht-less poor, and the voters will lap it all up. He knows that those are not the big questions, but does that bother him? If they will get him the votes, that is all that matters. Convictions, intellectual integrity, even his sense of proportion must all be subordinated to the desire to cater to the crowd, to get a good press, and to attract general attention. The politician will speak anywhere, at any time, and on any subject. If in his incessant drive for publicity, he should make certain ridiculous or erroneous statements that draw general disapproval, his PRO can always be relied upon to issue a denial, or an explanation and clarification longer than the original statement. The desire for publicity, the frantic efforts to sell himself, thus contribute to the moral degeneration of the politician.

THE CHAINS OF CORRUPTION

What is the principal motivation of the typical Filipino politician? He will tell you in ringing tones that his “magnificent obsession” is the public good. His record, however, reveals this to be mere window dressing. His motivation is personal, his goal: to stay in power or to regain power, and to use that power to achieve financial success and social position. Quite often, the politician is the small-town boy who made good. His luxurious car, his Spanish style mansion, his baroque furniture, and the countless invitations from Manila’s elite, are all beautiful symbols of his success. They are, alas, also the chains which hold him

fast to the ways of corruption and intellectual dishonesty, for now that he has acquired expensive tastes, he cannot afford the luxury of honesty.

CORRUPTION BY THE PUBLIC

The politician is not wholly to blame for his degeneration. Although, he corrupts the people with his example and his distortion of political and social truths, the people in turn have played no small part in speeding him down the road of moral and intellectual dishonesty. By their insistent demands for his personal attention, the people have deprived the politician of the time and privacy for intellectual growth. By their constant importunities for employment regardless of their lack of qualifications, they constitute a powerful pressure on the politician to disregard the goal of efficient and economical government. By their expectations of financial help and gifts in payment for their electoral support, they make the lure of dishonesty almost irresistible, or at least make it necessary for him to secure other sources of income which prevent him from serving his people well.

But this is not all. By their lack of intellectual discrimination, the people abet mediocrity and fail to put a premium on intellectual integrity. By their lack of interest in and understanding of the basic issues which face our country, the people encourage demagoguery in place of serious thought. By their pathetic gullibility, they foster the use by the politician of cheap publicity stunts. By their own tolerant or cynical view of corruption, they fail to constitute a powerful social force ready to decree social ostracism on any public servant who feathers his own nest at the expense of the general good.

The young man, therefore, who originally entered politics to be of service to his people is faced with powerful temptations to discard his principles, on the one hand, and, on the other, finds no support for his good intentions from the people who would benefit from them. It is not surprising, therefore, that among our politicians we have so many men

of straw, without original ideas, devoid of strong personal convictions, going where the wind blows, subservient to those with greater power, whether Filipinos or foreigners, and with no greater goals in life than power and money.

DISTORTION OF NATIONAL GOALS

During the early thirties, the prestige of the Filipino politician was still relatively untarnished. True, there were only a few of them. Government was not big and the people were enjoying a measure of colonial prosperity. The issue that pervaded politics during that period was independence. The residue of the nationalist ideal of our heroes of 1896 still exerted a fairly powerful influence. The electorate was not yet blasé and many of our politicians were successful professionals with a strong sense of honour. They valued their good name and prided themselves on their patriotism.

The pre-war independence issue had kept our perspective clear. We were a nation distinct from the United States and we wanted something she was then unwilling to give. Our politicians still acknowledged the heritage of our Revolution and considered their own struggles to obtain our independence as the peaceful completion of the task our revolutionary heroes had handed down to them. Although our Americanization was being accomplished by various means, nationalism was kept alive by the unrealized dream of independence.

The second world war brought about a change in the complexion of Philippine politics. The common fight against the common enemy was the first of a series of historical circumstances which tended to blur our separate nationhood. Japanese despotism further obscured the distinction between our national interests and those of the United States. Under the heady influence of the "liberation" hysteria, the canned goods and the cigarettes of the GI's, and the initial influx of American luxuries, the Filipinos succumbed to the idea that to be back in the bosom of Mother America was the best

thing that could happen to us. The attainment of Philippine independence under the Tydings-McDuffie Law completed the illusion that henceforth, Philippine and American interests were identical and that the U.S. had nothing in mind but the best interests of her beloved ward in the Pacific.

For many years after the liberation there persisted in the public mind a strong sense of identity with the U.S. which prevented us from realizing that we had problems of our own which could be solved only if we recognized that America's goals are not necessarily ours. This illusion was to continue its hold upon our minds until certain recent events placed the Garcia administration in a nationalist position.

THE PRICE OF FOREIGN AID

How did this new climate affect the politician? When formal independence was attained, the most glittering issue of Philippine politics was lost. The fight for independence had shifted to the arena of economic policy, but many of the old-time politicians were not equal to the new situation. While this new struggle was clear to the foreign vested interests involved, the average Filipino politician, oblivious of the fundamental issues, was lost. His increasingly American orientation and the fixation on Philippine independence which characterized his previous struggles made it difficult for him to see that there was still one more fight to be waged—the one for economic independence. Moreover, the spectacular liberation, with its carnival atmosphere, had cast a hypnotic spell on the population and made it firmly and blindly pro-American. The people forgot that we fought the war to repel aggression and to assert our right to be free, and not merely to welcome back the United States.

Faced with a prostrate economy and with urgent problems of rehabilitation, tired of suffering deprivation, and relying on American wartime promises, both the leaders and the people convinced themselves that we could not do without American help or survive without America's

doles. Because of wartime comradeship, because of the joys of liberation, we lowered our guard and lost the initial battles for our economic independence. Thus we saw the acceptance of parity and the establishment of bases whose terms we are just beginning to see in their proper perspective. The shortsightedness of our position at that time is just now beginning to dawn on us. We see now that we bartered long-term gains for immediate relief and that the price of American aid is continued economic dependence. At that time, however, we were content to be led by the hand, to be fed and clothed with relief goods, to let America shape our economy and direct our destiny. The majority of our politicians, who should have been farsighted enough to see the consequences, failed to warn us and were content to go with the tide of uncritical dependence on the United States.

The principal issue of post-war elections was, "Who is America's best friend? Who can get the most financial aid from the United States?" It was no longer necessary for the politician to exhibit any independence of judgment or originality of thought. The reliance on foreign aid and on American experts and advisers made it unnecessary for the politicians to do their own thinking. Therefore it was no longer necessary that politicians, to qualify for national leadership, possess brilliant minds and a record of constructive service to the country.

THE NEW CAMPAIGN TACTIC

A new type of political leader was born, the perfect man of straw to lead a country which was independent in name only. This type of politician no longer stood on definite issues, had no views, and could therefore be in agreement with all "respectable views." Not having any concrete plans nor any valid issues to bring to the people, this type of politician whipped up enthusiasm by means of new campaign tactics and gimmicks which revolutionized Philippine politics and whose unfortunate effects we shall all feel for a long time to come. These tactics were all carried

out in the name of democracy but it was a vulgar sort of a democracy—the empty shell, the crowd-getting gestures, and not the essence of democracy. So successful was this campaign that carbon copies of the new type of leader sprang up all over the country.

The national idol no longer was a man who, during the campaign for independence, was a statesman, an orator, an economist, a lawmaker. Mediocrity became a virtue. As long as a man had strong arms to withstand thousands of handshakes, sturdy legs to jump over puddles, and the stamina to fly to remote barrios to administer first aid personally, he had the potentialities of great leadership. Neglect of official duties became standard practice, and this neglect was justified on the ground that the official was busily acquainting himself with the life of his people by making barrio to barrio, house to house visits. The only issue left for the Filipino official to speak on, then, was graft and corruption, and this seemed more like sourgraping because the accusers were out of power and had no access to the gravy train.

Behind the facade of personalized democracy, underneath the veneer of concern for the welfare of the humblest Filipino, behind the posture of vigorous action on governmental matters, what does such a politician really stand for? What has he really accomplished? Such a man is the true product of the colonial status of this country. Foremost in his mind is the belief that nothing can be done about our national problems without American aid, advice, and support. He is incapable of planning bold measures that will really solve the country's problems for fear that such measures may alienate certain foreign interests. He is incapable of broad vision because of the limitations of his economic objectives for the country. Having voluntarily donned a political and economic straight-jacket because of his colonial mentality, his principal criterion for any new policy is whether or not it will meet with the approval of the Americans. Hence he has found it impossible to evolve trade and currency policies that would free us from economic dependence. Hence he has allowed our country to be

saddled with military bases which have further impeded our economic development.

All these, plus a subservient foreign policy, have been carried out under the pretext that Philippine policies must be adjusted to American policies in order to assure American aid and American investments in this country. Meanwhile, the consequences of our shortsightedness and subservience were being felt. Still, many politicians went on playing the same old game of pleasing their constituents with jobs, smiles, and handshakes, hoping to perpetuate themselves in power by these simple means.

NEW VOICES

But a nation cannot persist in its shortsighted and suicidal policies for long. Sooner or later this lack of concern for our welfare takes its toll. The unnationalistic policies of previous administrations have so aggravated our position that the present administration has opened its eyes to many of the tragic errors of our traditional policies. The problems arising from the one-sided provisions of the military bases treaty, the realization on the part of many that Filipino businessmen are at a great disadvantage under existing rules, the dissipation of our foreign exchange because of economic doctrines based on a pastoral economy have awakened many of our leaders in turn to the gravity of our situation. Their declaration of a Filipino First policy, their assertion of Philippine sovereignty, and their decision to return to Asia have shocked those of their colleagues who still think in terms of a Fil-American honeymoon.

LEADERS WITH PURPOSE

We are hearing new voices presaging a new era. The present administration could mark the end of a phase in Philippine politics. The boldness of its approach to old problems has been met by solid opposition but because it is more responsive to the needs of the times, the nationalistic

assertions of the administration have met with unexpected response. We now have some politicians who, while retaining the traits of the traditional politicians, are developing into leaders with purpose. On the question of the assertion of Philippine sovereignty, the implementation of a Filipino First policy, and the forging of our ties with our neighbours, these politicians have shown vision and courage. There is now an intense desire to re-examine our ties with the U.S. and a great interest in seeking more creative, more imaginative policies in order to solve problems which are peculiarly our own.

These new voices, speaking with dignity and with serious purpose, are regaining for the politician the respect of his countrymen. Of course the ground work is just being laid and many of these earnest voices are still feeling their way, but they do have something to say and the people are beginning to listen. The awakening nationalism at the top has met with a corresponding awakening among the people. Where before the people corrupted their leaders and were corrupted by them, it is now possible to hope that mutual corruption will give way to mutual instruction and upliftment. Politicians can point the way to a new nationalist orientation and the people, by their enthusiastic response, can spur their leaders towards a more resolutely nationalistic position.

THE JOHNNY-COME-LATELY

The behaviour of opportunists is the surest yardstick of the success or failure of a movement. An unfortunate and even dangerous manifestation of the growing success of the nationalist movement is the fact that opportunists have been flocking to its folds by the score. For them it is nothing but a new gimmick and they want to cash in on it. At bottom, they may still be inclined to the old policy of dependence on America, but seeing the response of the people to the nationalist movement, they hasten to join in the hope of introducing a watered-down version. The people should be

mature enough to recognize every Johnny-come-lately on the national bandwagon. They are out to emasculate nationalism.

THE MEANING OF HONESTY

Another dangerous enemy of nationalism is the politician who ignores this vital issue and seeks to lay all our problems at the door of graft and corruption. It is true that graft and corruption have pervaded all phases of governmental activity. Efforts are being exerted in certain political quarters to start a sort of crusade for the selection in 1959 and 1961 of honest men of whatever political persuasion. There is an attempt to make honesty the principal and almost the only qualification for public office. This demand for honesty needs clarification. It is true that we need honest men. But in this country, honesty merely means financial honesty. It merely means non-stealing of government funds and property.

Honesty should embrace a larger field. It should mean, first of all, mental honesty. For a man may be honest in the sense that he does not steal but if he lacks intellectual integrity, if he would close his eyes to the incursion of foreign interests at the expense of the people's welfare, then, his financial honesty would be of no avail since he would be a party to the enslavement of his own people. Honesty must mean sincerity of purpose in the service of the people. Honesty must be based on nationalist integrity. It is therefore dangerous to flirt with this movement to seek "honest men." For a man may be honest in the financial sense without really working for the basic salvation of his people. Merely to look for "honest men" would be to deflect us from the rightful course which events are taking now. A general demand for "honesty" would conceal the issues on which politics stands.

ISSUES INSTEAD OF MEN

Today some of our politicians are beginning to stand and fight for issues. This is a healthy development in our history. We are starting the departure from personality as the basis for political success. To demand that a man be merely honest without making him reveal his real views on definite issues would be a return to the old system of voting for men instead of for issues. The party in power has come out squarely for independent action, for a Filipino First policy. Let it defend that issue. If there is an opposition party that would like to dispute these contentions of the administration, let it come out squarely for the retention of parity, for the maintenance of the present bases arrangements, against the diversification of our trading pattern. The Liberal party has in a way castigated the administration for what it calls its veering-away-from-America policy. These are real issues and it would be of tremendous benefit to the people if both parties defended their respective stands instead of beclouding the issues and restricting themselves to the question of who is more corrupt.

A GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY

A clear division on these issues will provide our electorate with the opportunity of educating itself and participating in the determination of national policy. Our people will learn to choose men not on the basis of what these men can do for them individually, not on the basis of a vague reputation for intellectual honesty and oratory and the so-called common touch, but on the issues for them and their country. This will elevate the political education of the masses and the politician will strive hard to study the problems of the country in order to make a stand on the basis of which he will present himself to his constituency. Only then can the democratic process be implemented. Only then can the politician claim to be a true leader.

The politician of today has a golden opportunity in his

hands. It is now within his power to redirect national development so that the benefits of economic progress will be reaped largely by his own countrymen. His countrymen have demonstrated by their response to his nationalistic utterances that they are at the threshold of a new understanding of their social goals. The politician has the solemn responsibility of fostering this new maturity, of crystallizing the vague aspirations of his people for dignity, self-respect, and independent action. At no time in his life has the politician had such an opportunity for service. The politician who persists in his attempts to deflect or to blunt the nationalist movement will earn for himself the contempt of his countrymen and the condemnation of history.

SOCIETY WITHOUT PURPOSE*

As a people we have been deprived for centuries of responsibility for our destiny. Under the Spaniards, this deprivation was open. They ruled, we obeyed. Under the Americans, while we were ostensibly being prepared for self-government, for self-reliance, we were actually being manoeuvred by means of political and economic pressures to defer to American decisions at the same time that we were being conditioned by our American education to prefer American ways. The result is a people habituated to abdicating control over basic areas of their national life, unaccustomed to coming to grips with reality, prone to escape into fantasies; and a leadership which voluntarily chooses Western solutions for Philippine problems—partly because it is intellectually conditioned to believe in such solutions and partly for personal expediency, since politicians tacitly recognize the danger of displeasing foreign friends.

Thus, we have existed since 1946 as a semi-ward, content with a semi-independent status, our leaders busying themselves with stop-gap measures that change nothing, our people retreating more and more into individualistic pursuits. We have become a people that delights in fantasy. Objective reality stares us in the face but we either ignore it or gloss over it. The result is a way of life that is divorced from reality.

Reality, however, is now asserting itself and this is the reason why so many of us are confused. This is the reason

**Graphic*, January 17, 1968.

why so many events in our contemporary life have become inexplicable to most of us. The unwholesome tendencies which we regarded merely as aberrations of our normal life, not as danger signals pointing to a coming general economic and moral breakdown, are now engulfing our society, making us more confused and desperate.

We managed to get by before; we felt that we would always get by, we thought that there was nothing seriously wrong with our society. Some of us continue to deceive ourselves into believing that present social and economic difficulties are symptomatic of progress and of a stage of development which inevitably will bring us to the threshold of happiness and prosperity. The purveyors of optimistic forecasts and statistics steadfastly adhere to conclusions supported by an array of figures, graphs, and tables that we are a growing economy, that we are a nation on the move. Yet the actual conditions in the countryside present a picture of unmitigated poverty, a picture virtually unchanged through several centuries.

THE PURSUIT OF IDLENESS

It is true that more and more Filipinos are enjoying the boons of American gadgetry, that we have many movie houses, more television sets, more transistor radios, more nightclubs and restaurants. We can even boast of the concreting of more roads and the construction of more bridges. But what of the steadily increasing tribe of unemployed and under-employed? What of the exploding population of peasants for whom the future holds nothing but the same desperate search for food and security that occupies them today? And what of the many of our young whose talents have been wasted because of lack of opportunity, because of deficient education, because of malnutrition and ill health?

The glowing prose of *status quo* apologists notwithstanding, we are a society without a central, common purpose, whose members are obsessed with the pursuit of idleness.

Today, a small sector of our population is endeavouring to "pass the time" through the enjoyment of available entertainment media, while the greater part of the masses are idle because of lack of opportunity to work and the lack of cultural avenues to apply their talents fruitfully. And while we have been existing in unthinking passivity, our social system has led inexorably to the emergence of the affluent few as a twin phenomenon of poverty for the majority. The rising affluence of the privileged stratum has only assured the continued degradation of the masses. And it is certain that the masses will continue getting poorer while a relatively diminishing minority of privileged individuals will enjoy the advantages of immense wealth. The plutocratic content of our social system will become more exposed and the anti-popular nature of our government will be unmasked for an increasing number of our citizens. We shall be a country with two distinct societies—the masses who will struggle more and more fiercely for change and the beneficiaries of the system who will fight back with violence and repression to preserve the *status quo*.

ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES

The picture is indeed bleak, and the promises of the politicians, which in the past constituted the slim ray of hope for those who still dared to hope, are now regarded with utter cynicism. The electoral system which has hitherto been considered as our safety valve is now not even good entertainment; it is for many just a business proposition in which the vote is a commodity and neither buyer nor seller has faith in each other. The lack of basic issues between the two contending parties has emphasized the bankruptcy of our political system. That is why unrest is resurgent, that is why it is becoming increasingly clear to our people that the answer does not lie in electing different men to office nor in electing first one, then the other of our traditional political parties. After the initial post-election euphoria, our people realize that there is still no change in their status. Cynicism

and indifference are rampant. But these are only the initial reactions. As objective conditions make life more unbearable, cynicism will turn into widespread dissent, and indifference will give way to an active search for real alternative approaches to our problems.

ILLUSION AND REALITY

The official commitment of this country is to democracy. That is why, despite the reality of oligarchic privilege, everyone still pays obeisance to its tenets. This is part of the illusion which we mistake for reality. Actually, democracy in the Philippines is a reality for the few and only an illusion for the majority. The task is to make the illusion a reality for all. Internally, just as in the field of foreign affairs, political freedom is meaningless unless it is firmly buttressed by economic freedom, for the basis of true political democracy is economic democracy. The majority, who are today consigned to misery, must be given the reality—the economic reality—of democracy.

It is therefore in terms of what is good for the majority that our leaders must be tested. They must not be judged on mere quantitative accomplishments. They must be judged on whether they have contributed fundamentally to the essential question that confronts the masses. Our fundamental task is economic development that will provide our people with their essential needs and their cultural growth. Mere quantitative accomplishments in roads, schools, production, etc. do not constitute development if the end result is to make the rich (foreigners and Filipinos) richer and our masses poorer. For *développement* in this country presupposes basic change, and change is a social and political process. It is not how many more roads and bridges and schoolhouses we are building today, but how we are building our society that clearly matters.

For example, let us consider the question of roads. There is nothing wrong with road-building as long as this is in furtherance of a basic goal. But when roads are planned

primarily to serve certain business and political interests, to strengthen favoured local officials, or to channel profits to friendly contractors, then no amount of road-building will contribute to the material well-being of the people. When roads are built for the purpose of enhancing commerce for the benefit of existing foreign enterprises and not as an integral part of a plan for nationalist industrialization, the condition of the masses will not be alleviated at all.

DEVELOPMENT IS NOT WESTERNIZATION

Neither should economic development be equated with our growing Americanization or Westernization. A people does not achieve economic development by the acquisition of western modes of living. Modes of living must be based on objective reality within the country. Economic development cannot be measured by the number of TV antennas on the rooftops of subdivision dwellers, nor by the number of cars in the garages of the affluent. The true measure of our economic development is found not in how rich the rich are, nor even in how rich the country is, but in the well-being and the degree of economic security of the great masses of our population.

All our leaders have proclaimed their preoccupation with economic development, yet save for changes in style or emphasis, we have had the same sort of directionless hodge-podge of policies from year to year. It is too late for economic patchwork. Our leaders must not think that they can still substitute a slogan for serious policy, and oratorical platitude for solid achievement. Announcement is not movement, nor press releases, success. A total approach is necessary, total in the sense that all aspects of our life—political, social, cultural—are synthesized within the over-all plan of economic development, and also total in that all sectors are active participants in the task of development.

THE CONCERN OF ALL

Economics, therefore, should not be the concern merely of experts. It should be the concern of all. But this field of endeavour has been made to appear as a forbidding science requiring such a great deal of expertise that the laymen, the common people, feel it is beyond them.

It is true that there are many refinements and sophistications in this field. It is true that certain technical matters are beyond the ken of the untrained. Yet economics is part and parcel of the people's daily lives. The state of the economy dictates their standard and style of living. Surely, they would be interested in participating in the formulation of economic policy if economics were presented to them in simple, understandable terms. Unfortunately, some of our experts and leaders dress up their statements in a language that makes the subject difficult for the layman. Also, economic problems are presented in isolation. They are not viewed as essentially related to social attitudes and political processes. These are factors which have contributed to the prevailing lack of interest in our national economic problems. This lack of interest is both cause and effect of the exclusion of our people from participation in this vital field which directly affects their own present and the future of their children.

Not only do our experts speak in technical terms, they are in effect speaking in a foreign tongue, for their techniques are based on the conditions of more developed countries. Their theories are extensions of the theories of foreign experts. Their main concern is the business and industrial world of foreign and local entrepreneurs, not the large majority of the people who constitute the nation. This is unfortunate but hardly surprising, for most of them earn a living by looking after the private interests of their employers. But it will be to their long-term advantage, even as technicians of established Filipino enterprises, if they take the over-all view of their society and base their studies on the over-all needs of that society. For after all they still constitute a small

segment of this society and their future is inextricably linked with the fate of the larger portion of the population. They must, therefore, first re-examine the assumptions under which they labour. They must re-study the areas of their specialization—they must start all over again and view Philippine society not only as it really is, but also as it should be on the basis of real needs. And when we speak of Philippine society, we must mean the vast majority of the Filipino people who hitherto have been taken for granted and who can no longer be taken for granted.

A VIEW OF OURSELVES

Let us therefore refrain from basing our analyses on academic theories that have no bearing on reality. Let us be honest with ourselves and look at ourselves as we really are. Let us look at Filipino problems as Filipinos should view them and not as foreigners would like us to regard them. Let us make a supreme effort to look at Philippine society objectively. Let us cast aside prejudices and illusions ingrained in us by others, for these are the unexamined assumptions which have brought and can only continue to bring economic disasters upon us. These are among the obstacles that have impeded a real formulation of policy.

Improvisation has been characteristic of the way we have hitherto tackled the problems that confront us. The gap between reality and illusion has been responsible for the erroneous solutions that we have attempted. We have allowed others to predetermine the approaches to our problems. We have abdicated the power of determining our own destiny. A massive effort is needed to pull us out of the state of degradation into which we have sunk. We need the decision of a collective will. We need the participation of all and not merely the *dicta* of a few. If we want basic changes, we must first look at what we are, examine the nature of the society that must be changed, then determine the direction of that change. Finally, we must consider how to enlist the energies of our entire population to effect such a change.

A NATION OF CONSUMERS

What are we today? We are a nation of consumers; we are a people whose sense of purpose has been distorted by the dream of acquiring more and more of the "goodies" of life, of owning most of the things that proliferate in the world of commodities. We are a people who have been made to believe that these are the real goals of life and we therefore devote all our energies to the acquisition of more consumer goods. This has led us to pursue our lives in an individualistic manner without taking into consideration the good of the whole. These material goals induce a competitive struggle for status, for new forms of proprietorship, and for purely sensual pleasure. We are a mass of individuals who do not yet constitute a mature nation with a common aspiration. Rizal's analysis in "The Indolence of the Filipino" thus still rings with validity for our society:

A man in the Philippines is only an individual, he is not a member of a nation. . . The Philippines are an organism whose cells seem to have no arterial system to irrigate it or nervous system to communicate its impressions, these cells must nevertheless, yield their product, get it where they can; if they perish, let them perish. In the view of some this is expedient so that a colony may be a colony; perhaps they are right, but not to the effect that a colony may flourish.

We exhibit the external characteristics of an advanced society which we assiduously ape, and yet our resources are not devoted to the erection of a modern society with a real base. We have been so corrupted as a nation that we still do not know where we are going. As a people we are spending beyond our means. We tend to value the superfluous before the necessary. If the advocates of the preservation of our colonial status had intended to soften our resistance by the imposition of foreign values, they certainly are succeeding. For we as a people seem to be satisfied with the latest fads that have been exported to our shores, and to relish the idea of being the most Westernized nation in this part of the

world. Instead of aiming at the erection of a sound society, we seem to be satisfied with the opportunity of joining the world of consumers without the creativity and the responsibility of production. We desire to establish here a miniature copy of American society which we consider as the epitome of progress, though we are an underdeveloped country and still do not have the necessary technical base to assure real development.

Statistics show that 76% of our people live under conditions of extreme privation. They have a per capita income of only ₱333 a year, while nearly 50% of 17 million Filipinos have incomes below ₱167 a year. In the metropolitan areas, however, people are engaged in a fierce struggle to possess the latest goods that radio, television, movies and billboards advertise, as if we were all living in a state of continual prosperity. And yet the figures of unemployment and under-employment are steadily soaring. There is a glut of luxuries for those who can afford them but social services are woefully lacking for the poor who need them most. Rising prices progressively depress the living standards of those employed. For the unemployed there are only sub-human conditions under a government that cannot give them the most minimal security, in a society where the poor are objects of occasional charity in the interest of free publicity and image-building.

THE NEW POVERTY

Despite the abundance of our natural and human resources, our people are poor. This is because as a nation we have always been suppliers of raw materials and buyers of expensive finished goods. The goods we say we manufacture are mainly just packaged or assembled here. We have thrown our doors wide open to foreign investors and we believe that we are being aided by these foreigners when the truth is just the reverse. The existence of a small, comfortable middle class does not make our nation great. Neither is the affluence of a few a sign of progress. For we

are in reality witnessing a new poverty. It is not just the old poverty characterized by lack of food, clothing and shelter. It is a more ominous sort of poverty because, as the new privileged class exhibits new tastes and consumes new luxuries, the sense of deprivation becomes more acute among the underprivileged.

Clearly, it is time for a change. The direction of that change must be toward industrialization and modern agriculture. However, if we were concerned merely with the development of the Philippines, industrialization and modern agriculture would be valid goals. But if our aspiration is for the prosperity of the Filipinos, then our goals must be categorized more precisely as nationalist industrialization and modern agriculture producing for the benefit of a wide area of our population. These goals would seek to do away with both the colonial and feudal nature of our economy which actually are the twin impediments to our development.

The cause of nationalist industrialization inevitably flounders, in the minds of orthodox economists, on the question of the availability of Filipino capital. It is alleged that we are so unproductive that we do not produce enough surplus to invest in large-scale enterprises and must therefore rely on the surplus of foreign nationals for our economic development. To attract this surplus we must offer them generous inducements even though these may erode our sovereignty and are in the long run economically disadvantageous to us.

But do we really lack such a surplus? Or are we merely misusing it?

A HISTORY OF WASTE

Our use here of the concept of economic surplus may not conform strictly to traditional economic analysis but it will clarify matters for the layman. The concept of surplus will help explain the continued poverty of the Filipino and the hope of progress for this nation in terms he will readily grasp. It is used here as a manageable concept to demon-

strate a thesis in simple terms. We leave it to the experts to quantify and categorize our surplus for the benefit of a more specialized readership.

In its simplest terms, surplus may be defined as "the difference between society's current output and its current consumption." It is thus identical with our current savings or accumulation and finds its embodiment in assets of various kinds added to society's wealth during the period in question.

Ours has been a history of waste, of misused surplus. When the Spaniards arrived on our shores, they encountered a people living generally on subsistence agriculture. There may have been a small surplus in their productive activities but this was utilized for the basic functioning of the societies that prevailed at the arrival of the *conquistadores*. The presence of the Spaniards, the pillaging by their armies, the various tributes and forced labours imposed by the conquerors, could only have meant that the Filipinos were being made to produce a surplus over and above their needs; otherwise, Philippine society could not have supported all these exactions. The relative progress we achieved during the American regime—which, incidentally, did not alleviate the condition of the masses although a few were able to live in opulence—also showed that we as a society were producing a surplus to pay for the luxuries of our compatriots as well as for the greater proportion of the cost of American administration here, not to speak of the profits of American business. The naked exploitation by the Japanese likewise revealed that we Filipinos were supplying an enemy his war needs from the surplus of our economic efforts. Today, we are able to support the most scandalous evidences of luxurious life by foreign and local elites. This shows that our society is producing a surplus. How this surplus is absorbed could be an important clue to our future as a nation. It could be an indicator of what should be done in order to commence our real development as a people.

THE MISUSE OF SURPLUS

Where does our surplus go? It is absorbed by wasteful consumption and non-productive investment, by foreign remittances, and by government misspending. In the realm of consumption, we find ubiquitous evidences of luxurious tastes. Of course, this mode of consumption is prevalent only among a limited class although members of the low-income group participate once in a while in these spending orgies. Still, if we take into account that, according to National Economic Council figures, 10% of the families collected 40.7% of all family income in 1961, the national surplus expended on luxuries by a small minority is quite considerable. Conspicuous consumption, incidentally, is perhaps largely responsible for the many robberies and crimes against property because those who want to taste the "good life" often steal in order to pay for these extravagances. Just think how much of this misused surplus could be invested in heavy machinery for a real industrialization programme! Our so-called industries, however, instead product in the main consumer goods that do not cater to our basic needs—appliances, radios, TV sets, cosmetics, etc. In fact, what is the bulk of our economic activity? The sales effort and catering enterprises that sell entertainment and other forms of luxury whose main market is the foreign community and the wealthy among us. To continue this form of enterprise is to delude ourselves and to sidetrack our own development. Because they are the frills of a developed society these products may be the goals of the future; they certainly should not be the obsession of the present.

A NATION OF SALESMEN

In this connection, we must not overlook the role which advertising plays in our society. This form of economic activity not only absorbs part of our surplus, it is continually creating new wants in the form of new models of commodities,

and new status-seeking activities. This dissipates our energies by wasting talent and inducing us to expend our resources on banalities. At the same time, advertising is a potent vehicle for foreign influence which not only instills foreign mores but also promotes a preference for foreign products.

Furthermore, the sales effort employs the talents and efforts of a great part of our working force in the sphere of circulation rather than in the sphere of production. Sales of consumer items, rather than production of our basic wants, become our predominant activity. New needs are created and we become more and more a market for foreign goods rather than a producer of our needs.

Advertising is a relentless campaign against saving and in behalf of consumption. In most cases, advertising is not informative but "manipulative." It creates a new "scheme of wants" by managing the consumer's motivations. An interesting example of how this massive waste of money charged to the consumer drains his income and destroys his freedom of choice is this item that appeared in the *New York Times* of January 9, 1964. It is about the drug called CONTAC. The drug's advertising budget is estimated at a "breathtaking \$13 million, spent in probably one of the most elaborate drug product campaigns ever devised." Most of the budget was spent for television commercials. For this outlay, the firm "is said to be deriving about \$16 million in drug store sales, expressed in wholesale prices." If the company was happy to pay \$13 million for promotion to earn \$16 million gross, we may surmise that the cost of production is infinitesimal.

We can ill afford to squander our surplus on non-essentials and more so if these are imported or packaged here by foreign enterprises. We seem to want to develop only mercantile activities, instead of productive activities. The ultimate ambition of many of our young men is to excel in salesmanship. Even our politicians look at their calling as an exercise in salesmanship. Are we then to become a nation of salesmen?

THE REALITY OF FOREIGN INVESTMENTS

An examination of the remittances of foreign firms would reveal another channel of surplus absorption. Official statistics on foreign exchange disbursement do not reveal the full extent of profit remittances. I quote from Dr. Horacio Lava's address before the Founding Congress of the Movement for the Advancement of Nationalism:

While the statistics classified as disbursements for purpose of profit remittances show only an average of \$10,000,000 for 1964 and 1965, there are unidentifiable transactions amounting to \$500 million in 1964, \$659 million in 1965, and over \$700 million in 1966, which are neither for the payment of imports, for travel abroad, or for any of the known transactions involving disbursements of foreign exchange. These unidentifiable disbursements of foreign exchange could of course be explained partly as payments for smuggled goods but could also hide profit remittances abroad which could be no less than \$200 million annually (on an estimated American capital of \$1200 million and Chinese capital of undetermined amount but probably slightly less than American capital). These funds that have fled the country could have financed basic nationalistic projects without our having to beg for foreign aid and investments.

Not only do foreign firms drain part of our surplus through profit remittances, they also further utilize our surplus for their local financing. The Araneta Institute of Economic Studies in its Report No. 16, disclosed the amount of local credit availed of by foreign firms. The report says in part:

Foreign borrowings have been consistently on the rise since 1960 and reached the level of ₱1.4 billion in 1964, as shown by the following figures:

1960	₱ 605,900,000
1961	₱ 805,200,200
1962	₱ 914,600,000
1963	₱1,183,100,000

1964

₱1,303,400,000

These represent the savings of our people. In effect, therefore, we are subsidizing these foreigners and allowing them to use financing that could have established or rehabilitated Filipino-owned industries. To this part of the surplus that is being absorbed and utilized by foreign companies, we must add that part reinvested here by foreign and local corporations in the field of non-essential consumer goods. For instance, the production of soft drinks, which amounted to ₱105,505,083 in 1965 and alcoholic and wine beverages which totalled over ₱70,000,000 in the same year plus the production of cigarettes, household appliances and other non-essentials which amounted to millions would show that our surplus is not merely misused but that our resources are appallingly misapplied.

Our capital accumulation should come from us and not from outside, because we can finance our own industrialization out of our own resources and sacrifices. In fact, most of the capital used by foreigners comes from credit generated by our banking system. This has enabled them to expand their holdings and make further remittances. Is this characteristic of a nation that lacks capital? We must liquidate the myth that we lack capital because it has become merely an excuse for foreign penetration of our economy. Foreign aid is not so much a process of pumping in capital as a process by which foreign corporations pump out our surplus. It is worth quoting again H.P. Bercher, president of International Harvester, who said on May 24, 1965: "For every dollar that we have sent out of the United States for any purpose in the past five years, we have brought back \$4.67." S.C. Ocampo, in a report on the talks between Filipino-American technical panels on the renegotiation of the Laurel-Langley Agreement (*Manila Times*, December 7, 1967) wrote: "A member of the panel also countered the American statement on the benefits of U.S. investments by pointing to the 'substantial' profit remittances of American companies here, compared to the small investments they brought in from abroad." Clearly it

is time we did something to protect ourselves. And yet we are considered as the villains when we protest against further foreign exactions.

GOVERNMENT MISSPENDING

Then there is the great wastage in government spending. There is no need to go into details; we see it all around us. Neither is there any need to remind our people of the huge amounts that line the pockets of those who benefit from government deals. What is worse is that all these millions are either spent for luxury, real estate, and election campaigns or are sent abroad and deposited in foreign banks. Moreover, we see from the government budget that a great part of our surplus is devoted to defence spending, an imposition of the "special relations" we have with the United States. We are supporting a standing army that is composed of more officers than men, a military establishment that is draining our resources. And yet we know that the war we are expecting has been so far only a figment of the imagination. Moreover, we spend large sums for expeditions that have nothing whatsoever to do with our internal security.

To summarize: we do have a surplus that can be used for industrialization; part of this surplus is now being used by foreigners to finance their enterprises in this country and a large part is misused for luxuries, non-essential importations, non-productive investments, foreign remittances, and government misspending. Our task is to prevent the squandering of our surplus and to redirect its utilization in order to build a nationalist industrial base for our economy. That is why the task of redirection is not only economic in nature but requires profound revisions in government policy and social outlook.

NATIONALIST INDUSTRIALIZATION

In the process of achieving nationalist industrialization, two important factors should be borne in mind. First is the

necessity for active government intervention. The government can assure steady industrialization by protecting local industries and encouraging local investors. This will require a re-orientation of our tariff and tax policies, our banking and credit laws, our foreign trade. The government should also take the initiative in the building of heavy industry. Instead of relying on joint ventures with foreign capitalists, we should have joint ventures between government and Filipino investors. A definite state sector should be established and strengthened. It may be alleged that government in business will only mean corruption and inefficiency as has been our experience in the past. This is only true under the present system where leadership is based on patronage. But a government that commits itself to nationalism will be a different type of government. It will be a government that will be thinking not of its future but of the future of the nation.

The state cannot be a neutral institution vis-a-vis foreign powers. It must use its power not in favour of foreigners, nor in favour of a few, but in the interest of all.

NATIONALIST AUSTERITY AS A STATUS SYMBOL

The second important factor in the process of achieving nationalist industrialization is the element of sacrifice. Development requires sacrifice. We as a people have never been found wanting in this regard. We should not strive for temporary prosperity for a few; rather, we should tighten our belts today to attain a happy future for all. During the Japanese occupation, cut off from the rest of the world, with an exploitative occupation army on our backs and lack of productive facilities, our people were able to survive and to demonstrate creativity in the face of adversity. Today, these adverse conditions no longer exist but there is still a need for nationalist austerity. Austerity is essential to development. Its adoption as a social value would result in restriction of consumption. We already saw what this meant during the Japanese occupation. Life cannot be worse now

than it was then because today we are not isolated from the rest of the world. Anyway the great majority still live in the same way that they did during the occupation. Some may miss their luxurious manner of living but everyone else will be assured of more than subsistence with definite hopes of economic improvement in the future when the well-invested surplus produced by today's sacrifice yields its dividends.

Those who cannot live without the unessentials may still enjoy them provided they pay the prohibitive duties that will have to be imposed. The tax structure, therefore, must be so revised that the real burden falls on those who can afford it. Such a revision, in conjunction with prohibitive tariffs on luxuries, would act as a powerful force to restrict consumption of non-essentials at the same time that it would direct the resulting surplus toward industrial investments. With social forces effectively marshalled by a dedicated leadership, austerity could become a way of life; its practice, a new status symbol. Then he who might still desire to ride in a Cadillac would have to forego the pleasure out of shame.

Surely we can give up wasteful spending in order to save for investment. Certainly, we are capable of devoting our energies to fruitful production for a future of plenty, but only if both the increasingly intolerable conditions of today and a dedicated, nationalistic leadership can awaken the people to a sense of national purpose.

Economic development should be a broad movement of an economically awakened population, for the goal is a "deepening flow of incomes and a widening flow of production." But how can we mobilize the people if they do not believe that their efforts will redound to their own good? The apathy of our people springs from the fact that they cannot be involved in nation-building because they have no stake in it. They just produce for subsistence because they know that beyond that others will be the beneficiaries. This is most true of our tenant farmers, the bulk of our population.

LAND REFORM AS MYTH

Feudalism has hampered not only our development but also the generation and disposition of our surplus. Our tenants who barely manage to produce for their own needs cannot be mobilized for the gigantic effort of nation-building if they know that what they are asked to do will not redound to their benefit, if they feel that their efforts would only reward the landlord in the form of higher rent and the middleman in the form of greater profits. Their traditional inertia feeds on resignation and despair. Acceptance of their age-old condition weakens determination and action, which ultimately leads to retrogression and decay.

We cannot begin to conceive of a nation motivated by a common goal unless the great masses of our people are brought into the mainstream of our national life. The first step in this direction is land reform. This should be pursued with a dedication never before seen, although it should not be considered as a goal but merely as an important first step in the liberation of the peasant and the liquidation of feudalism. For if land reform is pursued in isolation, merely as a political device to gain the peasants' support by transforming them into small landholders, it would solve nothing, neither the poverty of the new landowners nor the backwardness of our agriculture. It may even be a retrogressive step in terms of productivity, for small landholdings cannot finance the fertilization and mechanization required for higher production. Socially, such a shortsighted land reform programme would only create a class of small property holders with the individualism, selfishness, and conservative outlook characteristic of petty landholders everywhere. Moreover, such a redistribution of land ownership would only be temporary since low productivity and continued poverty would certainly result in the sale of land and therefore in a new consolidation of ownership.

POLITICIZATION OF THE PEOPLE

To destroy feudalism requires more than the mere break-up of landed estates by legislative fiat. It requires a thoroughgoing overhaul of the passive, fatalistic, tradition-oriented attitudes of the peasants. It requires their politicization, not in terms of mere participation in elections, but in terms of a consciousness of their right to a better life, an awareness of their power to achieve such a goal by united action, a sense of duty to participate in the building of the nation as an important part of the population. For this purpose, organizations of peasants should be encouraged rather than discouraged by a leadership which proclaims its belief in land reform. Such organizations would constitute themselves as pressure groups for rent reduction, speedy implementation of land reform, redress of grievances. These activities, while pushing forward the real goals of a true land reform programme, would also become an important part of the peasants' education. The experience of united action for their group goals would mark the beginning of their participation in furtherance of the larger goals of Philippine society.

ESTABLISHMENT OF COOPERATIVES

The establishment of cooperatives must be pushed alongside land reform. This will protect farmers from high prices and at the same time make much easier the modernization of agriculture. More productivity will give them security and a surplus that will enhance their purchasing power. This in turn will give stimulus to commerce and industry. Subsidiary crops will be produced and will further increase income and security. Handicrafts must then be developed for local consumption. Our peasants can produce items for everyday living, not just for the tourist trade. The art of creating these items must be defended from the encroachments of the products of foreign industry that have made us so uncreative.

A progressive agricultural sector will need the farm machinery which our budding industries will provide. Its industrial crops will, in turn, be needed as raw materials for industry. Moreover, increased agricultural productivity will transform the rural areas into rich markets for local products at the same time that the higher productivity of farm labour due to scientific farming will free part of our rural manpower for work in industry. Non-feudal, modernized agriculture and nationalist industrialization will thus complement each other to achieve our economic independence and the prosperity of our people.

Only a nationalistic citizenry can carry out this monumental task. And only a leadership adhering to a programme of national democracy will deserve the loyalty and support of the people, will be able to draw their enthusiastic cooperation and call forth all their creativity and potential genius.

LEADERS OF COMPROMISE

A leadership that attempts a tacit compromise between our nationalist aims and foreign colonial control is guilty of betrayal of the national cause. Catchy slogans merely lull vigilance and become excuses for inaction. What we need is a programmatic statement of aims and purposes in order to inspire action. Fine words cannot be eaten. That is why nationalist phraseology cannot be a substitute for nationalist practice. It is also necessary to eschew foreign theories and counsel, for aside from their dubious motivations, these are imported conceptions disguised as expert advice which do not conform to Philippine conditions. The closely knit network of foreign agencies and advisers must also be eliminated for these will only perpetuate the domination of our country by aliens.

We are today debilitated by our immersion in foreign values. The future is uncertain because the past interferes with the present. Our leaders try to create an atmosphere of progress which only shrouds reality. Claims to quanti-

tative achievements are announced as permanent successes. Plans are publicized as results. Quickening the pace of public works projects merely conceals the absence of a change in direction. Nationalist phraseology is being made to replace nationalist accomplishment.

Our relations with the United States should undergo a complete and real reversal. We must regard these relations as a confrontation requiring a definition of our respective goals and spheres of interest. Whatever hampers our development must be discarded regardless of whether this pleases the United States or not, for it is not her good will that determines our welfare.

Our leaders try to delude our people into believing that we can solve our problems within the term of one president. In the heat of an electoral campaign, grandiose promises are made. But none of these promises can even begin to be fulfilled because our leaders are afraid of disturbing the *status quo*. They are afraid of antagonizing powerful business interests, both foreign and local, on whom they rely to retain power. On the other hand, because they gave the people false hopes when they were still aspiring for power, they are now afraid to tell the people the truth that real development takes a long time, that progress will not come as a gift from self-anointed Messiahs but as a result of many years of disciplined self-denial and hard work by the whole people.

RE-STRUCTURING SOCIETY

If we desire real development, what we need is nothing less than the re-structuring of our society. Powerful classes must be deprived of traditional privileges; hitherto ignored classes must be entrusted with new responsibilities. We must do away both with "inherited affluence and inherited want." Colonial and feudal conditions must be eradicated. To compromise with either is to seal our doom, for the problems of underdevelopment would never be solved. For us, economic development is the economics of capital accumula-

tion. This is a task for generations which we must begin to perform now. To acquire our own capital for our own development, we must redirect our surplus away from foreign appropriation, unnecessary consumption, non-productive investments and government misspending, and into industry. Guided by a national democratic programme, we must deliberately plan our own economic development. This development must not mean the development of the foreign investor and his local partner at the cost of the underdevelopment of the masses. We must break away from the history of colonial relationship under which the metropolitan powers assured their development by extracting the surplus of poor nations. Furthermore, our development must be not only non-colonial but also egalitarian, our goal is not merely to transfer exploitative activities from rich foreign companies to rich Filipino companies. As we pursue the task of freeing our economy from foreign control so that it may develop freely and yield its bounties for Filipinos, we must remember that our larger goal is the well-being of all Filipinos. To achieve such a goal, we need the active participation of all Filipinos in building a new society in which the fruits of economic development will be shared by all.

DIPLOMACY WITHOUT POLICY*

Relations between states are both friendly and hostile; they are both a confrontation and an accommodation. A confrontation is inevitable because there is never complete identity of interests between two countries; each has certain national objectives that compete with the national objectives of the other. However, in the pursuit of these national interests, states work within an international framework of assumptions and practices which require certain accommodations in order to preserve the viability of international relations.

Yet, alongside the framework of accommodations, hostilities and rivalries continue to be registered and pursued, for no two states can be friendly completely and without reservations. But neither can two states be so completely antagonistic that they cannot find some aspect of their relations where each can benefit from the other or where hostilities can be held within controlled levels. Otherwise, a simplistic system of relations would mean complete union of friendly states or total war between rival states which disregard accommodation or management of conflicts. It is through a carefully maintained balance of relations and interests that the international community is maintained.

THE AMBIVALENCE OF RELATIONS

Even in the relations among individuals who are friends, however wide the areas may be within which accommoda-

Graphic, August 21, 1968.

tions are possible, there still remain areas where clashes of interests must be recognized. Real friendship does not override these realities; on the contrary it recognizes them in the interest of viable relations. In our political parties, no one can safely say that there is a unanimity of desires among all members, that a loyal party member will abide by party decisions no matter what happens. Past experiences have taught us that there are certain individual interests that cannot be surrendered to the political party. This of course assumes not only the self-interest of a member but also his personal independence. An individual who is known to be a mere satellite of another does not rate decent treatment and respect from his colleagues. So, too, in the realm of world affairs, the concept of sovereignty as an absolute value is essential. It is the exclusive form of participation of a country in international life. A colony or a protectorate is not given the same treatment accorded to states that are regarded as independent and who carefully protect their independence.

We live in a system of nation-states where each unit seeks to further its interests, not one where the interests of some are generously sacrificed for those of others. Even during a period of accommodation or of active alliance there is still recognition of the latent or open rivalry that exists between allies, and both prepare for the possible occurrence of extreme manifestations of this rivalry. On the other hand, even during a period of confrontation and active enmity, there remains a recognition of the possibility of future accommodation and both sides carefully refrain from closing all avenues to future relations.

OUR SIMPLISTIC VIEW

Recognition of the ambivalent nature of relations between states and a responsible and sober pursuit of national self-interest within the context of these ambivalent relations is the mark of independent nationhood in the field of foreign affairs. Unfortunately, our conduct of our foreign affairs

up to the present time disqualifies us from claiming to be a sovereign member of the international community. Our role has almost consistently been that of satellite and protectorate.

Seeing the world as if it were a Western movie, we have divided the nations into the bad guys and the good guys—the bad guys being the enemies of the United States and the good guys the United States, and whoever happen to be her friends at any given time.

This simplistic view of the world caused the Macapagal administration to go to the ridiculous length of barring the entry of a handful of basketball players for reasons of national security. On the other hand, naive trust in a special friend has led us to the serious extreme of sharing our secret files with this friend for her own use. For such behaviour, we have earned the reputation we deserve: that of faithful satellite.

FROM CONFRONTATION TO ACCOMMODATION

Foreign relations are usually conducted in “diplomatese” which conceals many of the ugly realities in the affairs of two states. We have often mistaken the honeyed words of diplomats for the policy itself. We have overlooked the fact that these garnishings are invariably disregarded when the hard realities of a nation’s needs compel the contrary course. Thus England and the United States, racial cousins that they are, often address each other in the most friendly terms and couch their protests in the most restrained manner, but neither racial affinities nor friendly words have prevented the United States from trying to reduce Britain to an economic satellite.

We have been fed with these same garnishings for over half a century. The sad thing is that we have come to believe them through years of persistent reiteration and through our own laziness to examine the facts for ourselves, although history now records many instances of duplicity inflicted upon us. History shows that America’s policy

toward us from the beginning has always been for her own interests. Yet we persist in acting as if she were here primarily for our good and only incidentally for her own. Our blindness and our stupidity have evoked neither charity nor consideration; quite the opposite, they have only whetted the appetites of selfish American business interests and allowed the U.S. government to take advantage of us at every turn.

That we have been treated so shabbily is mainly our own fault. Instead of approaching every negotiation with the United States as a confrontation, our habitual attitude is one of accommodation. This is like fighting with one hand tied behind one's back. Even more destructive than this attitude is our having allowed the other side to influence the choice of men who shall negotiate for us, so that there is in effect no one on our side of the negotiating table. It is precisely during periods of confrontation between nations that it becomes imperative for the appointing power to take into consideration the background connections, and general outlook of its own representative to make sure that he will jealously guard the interests of his own country. If our representative in a negotiation is unduly sympathetic and receptive to the other side's viewpoint, the confrontation is transformed into pure accommodation by one side to the other. We only realize the evil results of our incapacity to defend our sovereignty when a problem arises that forces us to refer to our international agreements only to find that we have been shortchanged as usual.

INDEPENDENT STATE OR PROTECTORATE?

Because we behave as if the conduct of our foreign affairs were a matter of relying on American "generosity" and "altruism", our government officials carefully assess each change of administration, each change of ambassador. Some still cling to the hoary belief held by our politicians of the early 1900's and the Commonwealth that a Democratic administration is more receptive to Philippine interests than

a Republican administration. Others believe that having a Philippine ambassador in Washington who is the friend of a new president will materially affect the conduct of U.S. policy toward the Philippines. Still others hope for a friendly American ambassador to Manila. But foreign policy is not a matter of friendships, ambassadors, or even administrations. The foreign policy of an independent country is the expression of its political and economic interests. Therefore it is foolish to expect substantial changes as a result of changes of men at the helm.

Above all, foreign policy is not to be confused with the soothing statements of diplomats. For example, we have been told time and time again that U.S.-Philippine relations is a partnership based on freedom and democracy. How can we have a partnership based on freedom and democracy when we see the proliferation of bases all over the land, when we had to amend our constitution in order to give Americans parity rights? The *Far Eastern Economic Review* of December 28, 1967 put it bluntly:

The Philippine government continues to sanction operation of American military installations on its soil. One point of view, of course, is that the government is pressured or bought by the Americans. An even less charitable view would be that the Philippine political establishment is so closely tied to the U.S. that it fails to conceive the possibility of separate national interests.

We are a protectorate, an economic and military dependency, because that is what the United States wants and because our own ruling circles who have always been in control of our government have accepted this status for us. No amount of rhetoric from our leaders announcing our sovereignty can change our status until we act in earnest to change it.

DISCREPANCY BETWEEN WORDS AND DEEDS

Posture is not policy. No matter how many times and how emphatically our presidents assert our independence, this is not policy. Mere assertion cannot negate reality. The

reality is that since the first President of the Republic based our foreign policy on friendship with America, all succeeding presidents have not deviated from this course. In fact, a re-elected President Marcos has even put these relations on a firmer basis, despite token statements of a somewhat nationalistic tenor. Between the words and the deeds, however, there is a great discrepancy.

The precondition to an independent foreign policy is in fact our independence. Are we acting as an independent nation or as a protectorate? This is a basic question on which is predicated our freedom of action, our degree of liberty to act for our own good and solely for our goals.

Our military agreements and the other treaties that infringe on our own sovereignty would show that what we possess is merely the illusion of sovereignty and not its reality. This is something that we have long tried to forget just as we have tried to forget that the Americans came here to colonize and not to help us. This is the historical development which has been responsible for our captivity.

But even after we have recognized the illusory nature of our sovereignty, there are still other difficulties that lie in our path to an independent foreign policy. These difficulties have also emanated from the one-sided relations we have had with the United States. These are attitudes as well as practices that have deepened our dependence on the United States and which, if properly evaluated, will make us realize how stupid we have been. And all it takes is a really critical view of ourselves and a more intelligent approach to questions that confront us.

VERBAL RATIONALIZATIONS Vs. REAL INTENT

This calls for an inquiry into the extent of our knowledge of the outside world. Having adopted the attitude that America would do us no harm, that our interests are also hers, we accepted the framework of the "cold war" within which to conduct our foreign relations. America's friends are our friends and her enemies are our

enemies. There are good nations and bad nations. Those who base their society on a different ideology are bad and those who play neutral roles cannot be trusted either. America is a good nation, therefore she alone can be fully trusted. The mental conditioning to which we, along with the entire American people, were subjected, made it easy for the United States to carry out her policy not only with our support but also with our willing contribution and sacrifice. This is contrary to the attributes of an independent foreign policy which should be buttressed by the principle that we are not merely a part of the so-called "free world" but also of the entire world. We cannot shut out from our consideration the rest of humanity just because they profess an ideology different from ours. This moralistic view of international relations set forth by John Foster Dulles has been proven wrong by events. For a nation must accept the realities of the world and must recognize the existence of other nations regardless of ideology.

In countries like the United States, powerful economic interests dictate many of the shifts and turns of foreign policy. Whatever may be the verbal rationalization of a given policy, it is necessary to see beyond the words and analyze the economic forces that influence the direction of that policy. This requires, first of all, a continuous study of the objectives of these forces in the international field. Because such forces work through men whom they place in high government positions, it is also necessary to study the background of these officials to be able to understand American foreign policy and forecast its direction intelligently. John Foster Dulles is a good example.

Dulles was one of those most responsible for the structure of international relations during the most intense years of the "cold war" which had as one of its cornerstones the rehabilitation of West Germany and its transformation into America's principal European ally. It must be recalled that it was this same Dulles who in 1939 attacked Franklin D. Roosevelt for supporting England and France against Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, and militaristic Japan.

He wanted the United States to stay out of the conflict. He ascribed German, Italian, and Japanese aggressions to "resentment, bitterness and desperation" arising from inequalities, the very reasons given by the aggressors to justify their actions. In 1943, at the height of the Allied offensive, he launched a campaign for a "Christian Peace." He became prominent in public affairs and later spearheaded the anti-Soviet campaign. We can get an insight into the economic motivations behind Dulles' foreign policies if we remember that as a partner in the law firm of Sullivan and Cromwell, he was chosen by a group of New York banking houses to represent their German dollar bond interests in the negotiations with Germany when Hitler was still in power. His name also turned up in congressional cartel investigations as a former counsel for German financial circles. A group that included Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt urged in 1947 that lawyers like Dulles who have interests in Germany be banned as advisers of the American delegation to the meetings of the Council of Foreign Ministers. But later Dulles became so established that to attack him was considered subversive. This was the man who conducted the "cold war"—a man who contributed greatly to the stifling of free thought not only in his country but also in the Philippines. Because of our intellectual subservience, we accepted the American version of the "cold war", the economic motivations of which were well hidden behind Dulles' moralistic tenets.

THE DYNAMICS OF MISINFORMATION

This defective knowledge of the outside world and the concomitant attitudes it has engendered in us have been partly due to our method of gathering and analyzing information and data. We have consistently exhibited a lack of discrimination between propaganda and fact, accepting propaganda from "friendly" sources as fact and automatically labelling facts from "enemy" sources as propaganda. We have been content to see only one side of the general

picture. It is true that we do not have the facilities to gather information from abroad. This is the reason given for our reliance on the briefings of a "friendly" government and the same reason given for our dependence on American news agencies. But we must bear in mind that though we regard the United States as a friend, she has interests that do not coincide with our own. We are therefore at a disadvantage because our sources of information are one-sided, the news services are American-owned, the TV news programmes are canned U.S. products, and our theatres generously release USIS films which in reality are American propaganda. Inevitably, the result is a foreign policy decision in keeping with American objectives not only because pressure of many kinds can be effectively applied on our government but also because the basis for decision is American-oriented information. It is always possible that the information given us is dictated by self-interest to induce policies on our part that will support American ends. This state of affairs has made our lazy minds operate within a preconceived pattern of attitudes—ruling out other ideas, other facts.

THE SAWALI CURTAIN

The dearth of non-American material in our country constitutes an effective because unnoticed form of censorship. We are living in a democracy and can read anything we want—as long as it does not come from "the other side." The policy of our postal authorities reinforces this virtual control of information by extending it to books and magazines. We can also watch anything we like in the way of cultural fare but nothing is allowed into the country that has not been certified as ideologically pure. And of course we can go anywhere we want—except to those places in a long list of "enemy" countries. Recently, perhaps as a tacit recognition of the unconstitutionality of this restriction on the right to travel, our government has "liberalized" its rules allowing those it considers mature and responsible to

travel to "forbidden lands." Of course this excludes those in the watch-out lists of government intelligence services. The "liberalization" has not done away with censorship; it has only added an odious form of discrimination. Thus, we continue to live, amid a seeming plethora of information about the world, most of us blissfully unaware of the very real censorship that impedes our forming an intelligent judgment of world events.

SANITIZING OUR DIPLOMATS

A further indication of our shortsightedness in the way of information gathering was the restriction we imposed on our diplomats not to consort with those "dirty" communists. There is nothing wrong with our diplomats gathering information from communist diplomats. The Americans make their soundings from these sources. As if wanting to avoid any possible source of contamination, we tried to sanitize our diplomatic community. But even if our present diplomats are now allowed to consort with communist representatives, the situation has not improved appreciably. This is due to two reasons. First, many members of our diplomatic corps are people who are ignorant of our history and of our own culture, most of them being political proteges. They have no professional training. Many of them feel that diplomacy is a matter of personality and protocol. Secondly, those who are better educated look with prejudice on the socialist countries, do not have the background for analysis, or are converts if not subtle agents of the United States. Our most "successful" diplomat is one who made a name for himself in the United States and the United Nations because of his intimate relations with the State Department and American Foundations.

Our diplomats suffer from various crippling disadvantages as sources of information of the outside world. Initially they come from a country so accustomed to only one point of view that its people are hardly aware of the one-sided source of their information. By their education and by the

atmosphere of the home office itself, these diplomats are conditioned to rely on American sources for information and are tacitly expected to be susceptible to American direction. Then, their lack of serious preparation first, to represent the Philippines in the country to which they are accredited and second, to understand the forces operating in the country which they are supposed to interpret to our government makes it almost inevitable that they should rely on American sources of information. And yet, even casting aside the very real possibility that information given us is coloured by certain selfish motivations, there is the further problem of evaluating the professional standing of American news gathering techniques.

THE RELIABILITY OF AMERICAN NEWSMEN

American newsmen are not always reliable sources. Mr. Leslie Corlit, formerly of the foreign desk of the *New York Times* and now with Reuters, complains about the reliability of American correspondents and casts doubts on USIS. In an article in the *American Nation* of June 17, 1968, he wrote:

Foreign correspondents of *Le Monde*, as of most European and British newspapers, are usually men with a deep interest in the area they cover. They are posted for years in one country and the feeling they develop for it is reflected in their articles. American newspaper executives believe, on the other hand, that a correspondent becomes stale after two or three years in one place, and since a theory prevails that all the world speaks English, he is not often required to have any competence in the language of the country he is to cover. In practice that makes correspondents dependent on USIA digests of the local press. Foreign employees of their bureaus are usually the only link these correspondents have with the people of the country. A dedicated correspondent will eventually learn the language, but a year elapses before he can understand what officials are saying when they

are not condescending to him in English.

Philip Ben, New York correspondent of *Le Monde*, observed:

The American reporter is often unsuited by his education and experience for a post abroad. . . We would not think of sending a man to Moscow who does not speak fluent Russian and have a solid background in Soviet affairs. American newspaper editors somehow believe that a good police reporter will make an equally good foreign reporter. No, the world is far too complex for this.

The simplest way to gauge the accuracy and integrity of American newsmen is to read what these instant experts on the Philippines write after two or three days on Roxas Boulevard. Their lack of insights, their typically American biases, their sweeping conclusions should make us all wary of accepting their view of the world.

A DEPARTMENT OF CLERKS?

The fact that there has been no production on a high intellectual level of policy papers or studies from the Department of Foreign Affairs demonstrates the aridity of thought in that department. The clumsy handling of the Malaysia affair from the resumption of relations with that state by President Marcos, to the conduct of the negotiations, to the vacillation of our government after the arrogant Malaysian attitude, exemplify our aptitude for improvisation.

In fairness to a few of our better-equipped diplomats, it must be said that they seldom have a chance to handle the real meat of foreign affairs. Considering that the ambassadors of the principal countries deal directly with the president, the Foreign Affairs Department has been virtually reduced to a clerical force. The head of a territorial division does not even summon the ambassadors of these countries. Instead, even assistant-secretaries of the U.S. State Department deal directly with the president. And why shouldn't an American Assistant Secretary demand direct dealings with our president

when particularly in the case of Mr. Marcos he deals directly with American businessmen, receives every two-bit Hollywood actor, and grants interviews to every passing American journalist?

CHANGE OR PERMISSION?

The proposed opening of trade with Socialist nations sounds like the beginning of change. But considering that these proposed relations are limited to a certain sector of the Socialist world, one easily discerns that this "new" policy is in line with U.S. State Department thinking of relaxing tensions with one side of the Socialist bloc while maintaining an implacable attitude towards another. Therefore, we are still following the American line. We have not changed; it is the line that has changed. So now it is all right to have relations with some countries of Eastern Europe because the United States hopes to extend the frontiers of American-type democracy by using such relations to undermine these regimes. Moreover, the new line is based merely on the need for economic expansion in the area of exports. This is certainly a practical move but one which still overlooks the basic principle that we should have relations with all nations regardless of ideology. Had we done this before, we might have had fewer economic problems and we would have liberated our economy from the stranglehold of certain foreign elements. Actually, our policy is still to react to external reality in conformity with American policy. Even setting aside for the moment the fact that it was American policy that influenced our decision to explore the possibility of trade relations with socialist countries, we can still not agree that this new policy is a revolutionary breakthrough. As a matter of fact we may even view the policy as backward in so far as it is actually an impediment to the evolution of a realistic policy in this regard.

THE DYNAMIC STATUS QUO

The *status quo* may mean the present unchanged, but in a living world, movement is a constant and the present is also past. Within the living present there are imperceptible changes which make the *status quo* a moving reality. Any given moment of reality contains that which will be left behind and that which will be carried over into the future. Thus a new policy based on the present as past and not on the present as future is backward for it is premised not on evolving conditions but on conditions that are already dying away. To prevent a correspondence between the actual conditions and a realistic policy is in effect to "straight-jacket" real conditions and needs. Ultimately, no such attempt will succeed for history moves on with inexorable necessity.

The attitude of an administration on a specific question can be considered backward or progressive only within the context of the existing situation. Today, practically all the nations of the world with the exception of such die-hard anti-communist juntas as those of Taiwan and South Korea have relations with the socialist countries. Over a decade ago, Recto and other nationalists and practical businessmen were already pointing to the senselessness of pretending that the socialist world did not exist. As time passed, the validity of this viewpoint became more apparent, yet Filipino leadership made it a point to gloss over this important issue. Meanwhile, more and more Philippine travellers went in and out of the "iron and bamboo curtains" despite the harassment of intelligence agencies. Some of the critics of Recto have themselves gone to the Soviet Union and China and are now among the loudest advocates of trade and diplomatic relations with those countries. So great is the interest in the socialist world that travel to socialist countries has even become something of a fad. Such travel when undertaken by those whom the Administration calls "responsible" and "mature" citizens now has official sanction. Clearly it is time for the leader of this country to

propose the appropriate policy in the light of reality. In fact, any positive policy in this regard would merely be a recognition of reality and should not be considered as a signal achievement since it is at best only a belated response. At worst it is a rear-guard action to stem the full flowering of historical necessity. The "breakthrough" is really a holding back, the revolutionary move actually a conservative reaction.

THE NEW COLONIALISM

Having been carefully brainwashed and having officials who do not have the independence of their people as an obsessive concern, we have become ignorant of the historical forces that have been at work in the world. This is the age of the small nation; this is the epoch of national liberation movements, of the anti-colonial revolts of peoples who can no longer stand the impositions of colonialism. Having been exposed only to the thinking of the "free world" and particularly to American thinking, we have failed to consider ourselves as part of this great struggle. We have not seen the significance of the transformation of a great part of the world into a socialist camp. This one significant event means that the small nations now have an alternative for it has given rise to competition between two world systems. Added to the competition among the colonial powers is the great ideological competition between socialism and capitalism.

Those who want to insure that we shall continue to think we have no choice call this the competition between democracy and totalitarianism. They further argue that the era of colonialism is dead. This is true, in a way. But it is true only of the classical form of colonialism when the big powers directly and brutally occupied their colonies. The Second World War saw the return of the colonial powers to their respective enclaves met by resistance. The resistance of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America has given rise to the emergence of new nations. But this does not mean that the colonial powers have given up. They may have retreated

in the sense that they have had to recognize these new states but they have devised new refinements in the form of indirect methods of colonial control to insure their retention of economic, cultural and political power.

Many techniques have been devised which retain colonial control behind the facade of independence. In our case, the Bell Trade Act and the military bases and assistance pacts are all examples of indirect colonial rule. The same situation prevails in the so-called independent countries of Latin America where American corporations are not only raking in huge profits but have condemned these states to poverty by preventing their industrialization through the simple expedient of choosing their governments. This is done by influencing elections or using the local military to institute coups against "unsuitable" governments. The attempt to establish U.S. military supremacy as a back-stop for economic supremacy is evident everywhere. In Vietnam, the United States was supplying 80% of the expenses of France in her effort to re-establish colonial rule. And when France was defeated, the United States simply took over.

THE RIGHT OF CHOICE

The global pattern of American action is to prevent groups with anti-colonial persuasion from taking control of the affairs of new nations. The United States fears that these elements may take the non-capitalist path and thus contribute to the shrinking of the capitalist sphere. This would undoubtedly further weaken the capitalists in the competition with socialism, hence the use of all sorts of techniques to strengthen their hold on the thinking of the ruling elements. One such technique, which we are pathetically grateful for because we do not see its true motivations, is the use of scholarships, travel grants, leadership grants, etc. as a means of developing a corps of new leaders who will be receptive and malleable, and of course implacably hostile to the other camp.

The Filipino must be conscious of this struggle between two economic systems. It is his right as a free human being to obtain the most accurate information about both. It is also his right to decide—collectively together with all his countrymen—at any given historical moment what system he prefers. It is not for us to say what his choice will be, but he must insist on gaining the freedom to choose. It is only within the perspective of this competition between ideologies that we can really devise our own national policies and correct our relations with all the nations of the world.

We are a small nation; let us look after ourselves. Let us not expect those who call themselves our friends to look after us. At the same time let us not forget the virtue of regarding others with good will though we know little about them as yet. Let us not assume that they are after our necks although we should prudently prepare for any eventuality. As we defend our freedom of action, let us also respect the wishes of other peoples who want to live in a manner different from ours.

We must choose our own institutions in accordance with our needs and not in accordance with what the dominant nation wants us to adopt for her own sake. We have never yet devised our own system since colonial days. It is time to take stock of our needs and goals and then devise policies of our own, internally and toward all other nations. To help devise and to carry out foreign policy, our diplomats must learn not only our history and economic reality but also the history and economic reality of other nations to find out their real motivations. They should not merely look like diplomats. They must act as representatives of a country with a definite purpose and personality.

THE FEAR OF CHANGE

In spite of the exposés on foreign aid and investment, we continue to adjust our domestic policies to suit the Americans. This is due to a mental conditioning brought about by American education and control over our political

life. The proliferation of cultural and educational aid and the deepening influence of American cultural programmes is meant to insure our continuing Americanization as well as the strengthening of that elite which has become America's mainstay in the country. The unfortunate part of this development is that in the growing polarization of our society, the poverty of the many has become pitted against a growing oligarchy.

The oligarchy is becoming more and more co-extensive with Americanization. This elite is the main local opponent of social change. Like the Americans, they do not want change; they fear disturbance of the *status quo*. It has become a neurosis with them. This is the reason why elitism is being encouraged, for the elite is a reliable ally of the United States.

Instead of foreign policy reflecting our own domestic policy, we have had to adjust our domestic life to the exigencies of a foreign policy foisted on us. We have had to live with U.S. bases and get accustomed to PX goods. We have had to lose millions in taxes because of smuggling in these military installations. We have had to devise investment laws that will favour the foreigners regardless of whether these will benefit us or not. Even Supreme Court decisions may have to be nullified to adjust our domestic policy to the commitments of our government. This is patently contrary to our interests. Commitments must be made on the basis of our internal needs. Domestic policy should not be adjusted to commitments extracted from us by a foreign government.

NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM

In this country, we pay lip service to both nationalism and internationalism. But we must know the correct interconnection of the two. Internationalism is a feeling of kinship with the peoples of the world, not with their rulers or their governments. Nationalism is our consciousness of our identity and of our interests. To be a good nationalist

one must share the goals of other peoples for a better life, in effect making one a real internationalist. But before one can be a good internationalist, one must be a nationalist first, taking into consideration the welfare of one's own people before being able to help others—but ever conscious of the fact that the larger goals of a whole people preclude the exploitation of others. In other words, the internationalist content of nationalism lies in the egalitarian aspect of world brotherhood. And the nationalist content of internationalism lies in the concept of sovereignty in the present system of world states and in its defence against colonialist onslaughts.

SECURITY AND SURVIVAL

We have been so obsessed with the concept of survival that we have alienated parts of our soil and granted to a foreign government extraterritorial rights therein. We have long assumed that we cannot defend ourselves. Two important points must be considered with regard to this subject of the bases. One is the assumption that aggression is real. This originates from the premises of the "cold war". But what is the reality? Is it not the United States that has foreign bases everywhere? After the Korean War, for instance, the Chinese troops which entered the war in defence of their country were withdrawn, but American bases and personnel are still conspicuously present in South Korea. If there is any aggression to fear, it consists in the presence of powerful military contingents here that make us almost an occupied country. This military occupation becomes even more ominous in the light of a statement made by Congressman Carmelo Barbero (certainly an unimpeachable source) during a congressional investigation in 1968 of our military agreements with the United States. Barbero said:

The resources as well as capability of the AFP are determined not by the Philippine government but by the government of the United States. In a very real sense the

AFP is more a creature of the U.S. than it is ours.

And what is the motive for the generous aid to our Armed Forces? The explosive "Symington Report" quotes Lt. Gen. Robert H. Warren as saying "... it is also to help the Filipino forces to physically protect U.S. Forces in the Philippines... to maintain internal security and stability and, thereby, make our own activities over there more secure."

Senator Symington then summarized the import of the testimony of the general in these words: "In other words, we are paying the Philippine Government to protect us from the Philippine people who do not agree with the policies of the Government or do not like Americans."

The other point is the distinction between security and survival. Have we ever thought that in trying to attain military security by allowing foreign bases on our soil and signing treaties that do not guarantee us full protection, we may not survive as a race with its own distinctive traits? Do we not fear cultural absorption and economic poverty which will consign us to the status of a non-country?

LIVE AND LET LIVE

Foreign policy is an aspect of defence and survival. It should be a reflection of national needs. It should be an extension of domestic policy, a mark of sovereignty. When we exhibit a disjointed knowledge of the world because of our prejudices, when we adjust our domestic policies to our foreign commitments, we display our lack of foreign policy. This in turn is due to the fact that we do not have the attributes of independence.

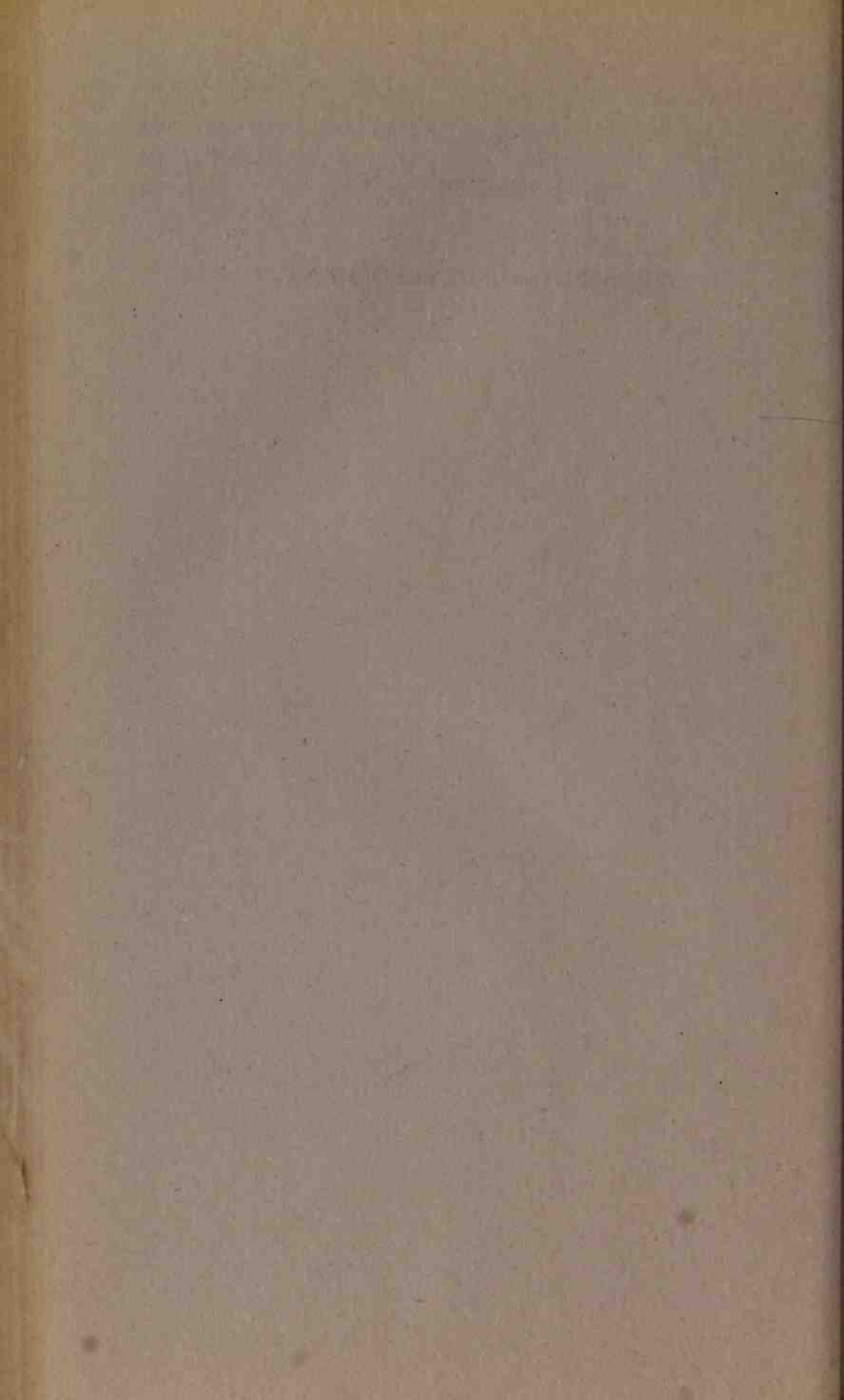
INDEPENDENCE: THE BASIS OF POLICY

Foreign policy, then should be viewed in the light of the question of independence. And independence should be viewed in the light of the anti-colonial struggle. For us, the anti-colonial struggle is a struggle against the United States;

therefore the correct beginning in the process of developing an independent foreign policy must lie in a complete revision of our relations with the United States.

PART III

PROSPECTS OF DEVELOPMENT



WESTERNIZING FACTORS IN THE PHILIPPINES*

A number of developing countries are confronted with great difficulties in trying to arrive at an indigenous view of the world and of themselves because of the deep-seated influence of Western culture. The consciousness of their people has been shaped by colonial traditions and today : further eroded by the economic ascendancy of Western global corporations and other institutions, especially media.

While the participation of such Asian countries in an East-West dialogue may be marginal compared to that of nations who are the inheritors of the great Asian civilizations or who may have preserved to a greater extent their native culture despite colonial incursions, accounts of the difficulties of these less fortunate countries would be relevant to present discussions for the insights they could provide on the pervasiveness of Western influence and its possible deleterious effects even on countries with established cultures. For it must be recognized that even some Asian civilizations are now threatened by distorting influences as a result of the prevalence of active Western global corporations and institutions in their midst.

In the case of the Philippines, we must admit that the value of its contribution to a Congress of this type is diminished by its own lack of knowledge of itself because its own culture, its economic and political life and the consciousness of its people have been shaped by a rigid control on the part of the Spaniards and by a subtle but by

*Paper presented at the 30 International Congress of Human Sciences in Asia and North Africa, Mexico.

no means less effective American influence. Although this paper confines itself to a study of the Philippines, it may still have relevance to the discussions of the Congress because the Philippine experience could be partially parallel to those of other countries with similar histories and because its present difficulties may provide lessons for those less afflicted with the penetration of Western popular culture.

To present the problem in a nutshell, we may say that the Westernization of the Filipino mind has blurred its responses to even the worst aspects of Western exploitation and influence and has resulted in a crisis of identity. And this crisis of identity is so serious and difficult to resolve precisely because Westernization has been so pervasive that by and large the Filipinos are unaware of their own lack of a national consciousness. Moreover, many of those who today seek to resolve this crisis are not likely to do it in the most meaningful way until they recognize the central role that colonialism played in the development of this identity crisis.

Before highlighting the contemporary factors that have impeded the attainment of a Filipino national consciousness and the development of a distinctly national culture, it is worthwhile to trace the roots of present-day consciousness.

First of all, it must be pointed out that while other colonized countries in Asia had developed or had been exposed to the great Asian civilizations, the Philippines did not enjoy a sufficiently developed pre-colonial civilization.¹ Therefore it did not have the cultural defences that other colonized peoples had. The Spanish colonizers encountered scattered and fragmented communities based more or less on subsistence agriculture. There was no nation so to speak. These scattered groups were easily conquered and their low level of cultural achievement was easily eroded by the superior culture of a civilizing church backed by the force of arms of a militant expansionist mercantilist state. There were of course certain exceptions, notably some Muslim groups in the south who a few decades earlier were already under the influence of Islam. But on the whole, the

scattered tribes were easy prey to the invading Spaniards.²

Recent anthropological studies of certain Philippine ethnic minorities have given us additional insights into the general patterns of economic life and social organization of these people on whose cultural patterns those who are engaged in establishing a Filipino identity are currently focusing their attention.³ Many cultural presentations highlight the songs and dances of these tribes as representative of our re-discovered civilization. While this renewed interest may be regarded as a worthwhile development—for these ethnic groups are certainly part of our cultural heritage—it must also be recognized that they are survivals of a primitive stage and therefore do not reflect a national culture. Moreover, this effort appears to be premised on a static view of culture. It assumes that national culture merely awaits re-discovery and that the principal source of the people's self-pride must be sought in the achievements of their pre-colonial ancestors.

Over-emphasis of this aspect of our cultural heritage may not only result in an exaggeration of its accomplishments but worse, could actually be considered a regressive move as it deflects our efforts away from studying the struggles of the people against oppression and colonialism, which struggles should be the basic course of a developing cultural identity because they are the expression of the birth pangs of a nation—a nation that contraposed its being against that of the colonial power. National culture should be seen as emanating from a people in action, in unending struggle for freedom and progress. Thus the real base of Filipino culture must be sought in the continued struggle of the people against colonial oppression and the pervasiveness of poverty.⁴

A second point that must be borne in mind is the difference between the indirect rule practised by the colonizers of other Asian countries and the direct rule of the Spaniards. This difference resulted in the preservation of their cultures while the natives of the Philippines became a *tabula rasa* in the hands of the Spanish friars and colonial

administrators. The other colonizers largely confined themselves to trade; they did not have the same missionary zeal as the Spaniards who tried to conquer not only lands but also minds. Christianity in Indo-China, Indonesia and other countries was confined to coastal ports while the inculcation of religion became both an objective and a colonial tool in every part of the Philippines. The theocratic nature of Spanish colonial administration greatly shaped the early course of Philippine economic and cultural development.

Spanish colonialism in the Philippines was effectively in the hands of the friar orders. Although there were frequent conflicts between the colonial bureaucracy and the religious, the former had to defer time and again to the wishes of the friars. The pacification of the country had been due in large measure to acceptance of the new religion by the native population. Moreover, "in more than half of the villages in the country there was no other Spaniard, and therefore no other colonial authority, but the friar," a situation which prevailed almost to the end of Spanish rule.⁵

In effect, it was the friars who really administered the colony. The long list of civil duties that the colonial administration entrusted to the friar clearly establishes the extent of religious influence in community life.

He was inspector of primary schools, and of taxation, president of the board of health, of charities, of urban taxation, of statistics, of prisons; formerly, president, but lately honorary president of the board of public works. He was a member of the provincial board and the board for partitioning crown lands. He was censor of the municipal budget, of plays, comedies, and dramas in the native language given at the *fiestas*. He had duties as certifier, supervisor, examiner, or counsellor of matters in regard to the correctness of *cedulas*, municipal elections, prison food, auditing of accounts, municipal council, the police force, the schools, and the drawing of lots for army service.⁶

Given the union of Church and State at the time and the accepted importance of religion as a weapon of pacification,

it is not surprising that the religious orders used their tremendous influence on the population to shape not only good Catholics but good colonials as well. Furthermore, we must not forget that the religious orders owned vast land acreage and also profitably participated in both the galleon trade and internal trade. Their economic stake made them an integral part of the apparatus of colonial exploitation. Thus, the friars did much more than proselytize.

They demanded strict religious conformity and proscribed many aspects of native culture as paganistic and contrary to Christian tenets, but beyond this, they used their political and economic power in the community and their psychological and spiritual control over the minds of the people to develop colonials who were both servile and ignorant. From the pulpit and in the catechism schools that were for centuries virtually the only education allowed the natives, the virtues of resignation and obedience were stressed. Thinking was discouraged save that which contributed to the stability of the colony.

Literature was practically confined to religious or escapist subjects: novenas, the *pasion*, the lives of saints or metrical romances.⁷ The paramount importance given to the after life and to the safeguarding of one's soul seriously circumscribed dissenting thought and action. Instead of developing their initiative to improve their condition, the people were taught to regard suffering as a sign of God's love and to rely on heavenly intercession rather than on their own efforts. The people lived in fear of excommunication and it was not unusual for mothers to counsel their sons to leave the thinking to the priests lest they be branded as subversives and worse, lose their souls via excommunication.

Because of the rigid censorship, the Filipinos were hardly introduced to the world of ideas. Until the education reforms of 1863, the educational system was confined to the three R's and the catechism, and only children of Spaniards were allowed to get a higher education. Those who were able to read had access only to religious or escapist literature intended to provide moral lessons. There was no

chance given to the development of an indigenous literature based on the people's experiences. No newspapers were allowed save those which were read by the Spaniards and even these had to undergo screening by the censors.

Thinking independently was considered subversive. It was not until the eighteenth century that because of the liberal trend in Spain and the new economic demands, the country was opened to commerce and therefore to new ideas.⁸ In 1863, the educational reforms opened schools to natives and allowed the teaching of Spanish. The universities and colleges were no longer confined to children of Spaniards. Native students were allowed to enroll. A crop of native educated youth who came to be referred to as the *ilustrados* were able to get university education and were able to go to Spain. From their ranks came the writers of the Propaganda Movement, the purveyors of the ideas of the enlightenment.⁹

But even these *ilustrados* were for assimilation with Spain and regarded their own hispanization as evidence that the Filipino deserved to be the equal of the Spaniard. They were revolutionary in the sense that they espoused a new identity but they were merely reformist in the sense that they wanted the Philippines to be a province of Spain. One may say, therefore, that the propagandists of nationality were themselves purveyors of a foreign culture.

Although the masses had been trained in a hierarchical society to follow "their betters," their experience in struggle gained though innumerable uprisings gave them a definitely separatist rather than assimilationist perspective. For while the friars were shaping their minds, the people were also receiving countervailing influences from their own reactions to oppression which erupted from time to time in violent struggle. From these struggles the people gradually began acquiring their own concepts of an alternative order.¹⁰

Since the Church was such an important and visible part of colonial administration and since the friars frequently invoked the awesome powers of their God in order to cow the natives into submission, many early impulses of protest

contraposed the powers of the people's old gods to those of the Spanish Deity.¹¹ Thus the material causes of such revolts—tribute exactions, forced labour, etc.—were shrouded in the mystical garb of religious nativism and anti-church violence. But they are there for the perceptive to see in the claims that some native god or other had promised to give them food and clothing in abundance, relief from tributes and church dues. It is interesting to note that while through the years such nativism continued to surface in people's movements, the inroads that Catholicism had made in the native consciousness became more and more evident in the assimilation of Catholic beliefs and rites by rebelling groups.

The natural direction of such a development was the demand by the Filipinos for equal rights within the Church.¹² At this point, the religious demands for equality which culminated in the struggle for secularization of the parishes (against the regular orders) and later for the Filipinization of the clergy, became an important current within the rising stream of protests for political and economic rights. These were articulated by young ilustrados, the majority of whom were sons of a growing local elite that had benefited from the economic development produced by the end of Philippine isolation from world trade and now had economic interests to protect and advance. While the ilustrados articulated essentially the demands of their class (whether or not they were aware that this was so) they couched these in universal terms, as demands of the entire nation. Though the Filipino masses would eventually go farther than the ilustrados, for that historical moment, the latter performed the patriotic task of synthesizing the national sentiments. This service (aided by the colonial trait of following one's betters) allowed the ilustrados to join the revolution of the awakened masses, eventually take over its leadership and compromise it again and again.

The anti-clerical thrust of the Revolution did not erode the Hispanic and Catholic culture of the elite. In fact, at a time when the Filipino people were most vitally declaring

their separate national identity and could therefore have most creatively developed their own culture, the ilustrado leaders were showing themselves to be bound to Western culture in their ideas of government, in their own cultural preferences and in their lifestyle.

The Christianized Filipino was the product of a Western church. His religion and the culture that went with it was Western. Christianity was an alien, Western ideology through which the indigenous experiences were modified. The values that emerged in Philippine society were Christian values. The missionary Church became a power base of the ruling order. As an institution, it has continued to be a pillar of subsequent colonizing groups because of its own considerable economic stake in the stability of society.

Spanish colonialism Westernized the Filipino principally through religion. American colonialism superimposed its own brand of Westernization initially through the imposition of English and the American school system which opened the way for other Westernizing agencies.

The result was the utilization of education as a weapon of pacification and for the transmission of colonial ideals that transformed the people into naively willing victims of American control. The use of English as a medium of instruction has been the principal cause of backwardness among the products of the system. Far from being a medium of communication and instruction, for the overwhelming majority it constitutes a barrier to all but rote learning. In the early grades, too much precious time used to be wasted learning the rudiments of a language completely alien to the native tongue—time which could have been used to communicate facts and ideas.¹³ This situation had now been remedied in part by the use of the vernacular in the primary schools. The problem in high school and college is compounded as students struggle to comprehend more complex material and express themselves in a language which despite years of study they can barely use.

Moreover, the neglected native languages have suffered from underdevelopment and this in turn has retarded the

intellectual life of the people. But of course, this situation has not prevented Americanization; rather, it has made the Filipino mind most receptive to the more banal aspects of American culture as transmitted through films, TV and popular reading matter. Such "cultural" fare in turn transmits those consumer tastes and attitudes that U.S. corporations find it most profitable to implant.

One particular example of manipulation of consciousness that should be mentioned is the distortion of the history of the early period of American occupation. Accounts of the years of fierce people's resistance, accounts of the atrocities perpetrated by the Americans in quelling this resistance were suppressed. Instead, the leaders of this resistance were branded as bandits while the early collaborators were presented to the people as leaders and heroes. Of course, the Americans were portrayed in the schools and in media as altruistic benefactors who had been welcomed with open arms by the people. Thus, succeeding generations forgot their people's record of resistance, their history of struggle. They did not make any great effort to retain and develop their fledgeling identity and to evolve their own culture based on their struggles and their real aspirations. After all, young people could not be expected to miss what they did not know they ever had.¹⁴

The momentary victory of the people over Spanish colonialism epitomized the beginning of a new culture—a culture of liberation. Unfortunately, this was a short-lived gain for before the new nation could really develop its own culture, it became the victim of another colonialism. A new massive dose of Westernization was applied. There was a regression to the old colonial state of mind as the nationalist cultural impulses were first repressed and then redirected by the Americans.

The success of Americanization gave the Filipinos a greater feeling of superiority over their Asian neighbours. As Christians they had tended to look down upon the religions of other Asian peoples and to regard their customs and culture as inferior. The victims of racism, the Filipinos

became racists insofar as fellow Orientals were concerned.

Colonialism preserved the backward agricultural economy. Instead of producing a class of proletarians, an active sector that could carry out the more advanced struggle for independence and against economic exploitation, colonialism produced a big sector of petty bourgeoisie. Shopkeepers, salesmen, professionals, government employees, etc. formed the mass product of colonial relations and education. This sector became the most avid consumers of American goods; they were the most Westernized in orientation. Instead of being the exponents of an indigenous civilization, they became the transmission belts of an alien culture. Under such conditions, it is not surprising that thought was minimal. The dangers of foreign control were not detected because of colonial conditioning.

Today, if a foreigner were to evaluate the cultural state of the Philippines he would probably be impressed with the achievements of Filipino artists, noting how they have kept abreast with cultural trends abroad. Unfortunately, too many of these achievements belong to a coterie that looks up to foreign models. As a matter of fact, the audience at cultural presentations is often dominated by the cosmopolitan set which patronizes and graces these events and whose approval is prized as a sign of success.

Of late, there have been any number of probably well-intentioned attempts by cultural leaders to remedy what they deplore as the cultural poverty of the masses by making available to them through provincial tours and lower prices the cultural fare that the middle and upper classes enjoy. Though it is not my intention to suggest that the people do not need exposure to the real cultural achievements of Western peoples and all peoples in fact, too often the result of these efforts merely results in further indiscriminate Westernization. A more meaningful cultural development is one that seeks its roots in the people's history and the people's lives. Fortunately, this development is now being pushed by a few cultural workers and artists who see the emptiness of aping foreign models, but the Westernizing

current is still dominant.

Filipino films are possibly the single most potent factor in the dissemination of Filipino. But while they perform a service in this respect, Filipino films on the whole are reflective of a Westernized society because their themes are too often copied from foreign successes and because script-writers and directors view Philippine life through the lenses of their Western upbringing. Thus their greater popularity at the present time is not a complete gain for they are still agencies for Westernization.

Because of the long monopoly of American films, the principal Western influence is American. Philippine movies therefore ape American movies in the preoccupation with escapism, sex and violence. Escapism, sex and violence are fed to the American audience because these are commercially profitable. And they are commercially profitable because the majority of the audience are no longer in quest of answers to social problems. They live for the moment, they have resigned their obligations as social beings. . . Their main preoccupation is material consumption. . . The values they have embraced are intrinsically alien to human existence for the material goods that obsess them have dehumanized their lives. While their government dominates nations and peoples, the American people have become enslaved by things, by the material goods they produce. The loss of a sense of social purpose has consigned great masses of the American population to an alienated existence.¹⁵

American movies mirror the weaknesses of American society. That society is the end product of historical and economic forces that are different from ours or at any rate are not yet fully operative on our society so that masses of our population have no other recourse but to immerse themselves in escapist entertainment. Our movies can still become a real Filipino institution. Stories based on local reality can enrich the lives of the people. We do not need to project foreign situations that have no relevance in our country. Our history and the lives of our people are rich in legitimate subjects for motion picture art. Socially conscious

writers will know how to exploit truly Filipino subjects. Movies can then become an important agency for the re-orientation of our people, an educative agency that will help to evolve new values for the nation.¹⁶

No discussion of the present cultural state of the Philippines can afford to ignore the presence of certain institutions and relations that are central to our economic life. All over the world, especially in the Third World, global corporations have invaded the economics of developing nations. While the deleterious economic implications of these activities belong to another field of inquiry, the effects on culture are well worth mentioning.

The global corporations are economic bodies but their operations have a direct effect on the culture of the developing countries. In the case of the Philippines, they reinforce the existing hiatus in cultural development. Through their advertising campaigns the multinationals induce a mood of consumerism and a self-indulgent attitude toward life. Through their sponsorship of TV and radio programmes to advertise their products, they are able to influence the type of entertainment fare millions view or hear. Since their objective is profit, they are more likely to favour the lowest common denominator in cultural level in order to reach larger audiences. Thus they spur the dissemination of pop culture that diverts the attention of the people from serious political and cultural pursuits. At the same time, the programmes that they sponsor subtly reinforce their advertising campaigns in cultivating a lifestyle inappropriate for the people of a developing nation. The drive of such global giants is to create new needs, to redirect attitudes, to change values so that consumption patterns are evolved which will increase their sales. Needless to say, these influences are more likely to be inimical to the basic national welfare than otherwise. The experts that they send over speak a language of their own which is comprehensible only to the elite and the technocratic elements of society. They therefore reinforce the alienation of the elite from the people at the same time that they induce a Western life-

style on segments of the population who are most prone to absorb consumer values.

Note must be taken of the tourism programme of the country to evaluate its own influence in the Westernization of the people. While basically the programme is intended to raise the necessary foreign exchange, there has been too much emphasis on attraction of the foreign tourist. Granting that tourism is a valid channel for cultural interchange and even that tourist dollars are badly needed for an ailing economy, still certain aspects of the tourist trade need to be watched carefully so that they may not have a deleterious influence on the cultural development of the people. At the present time, attention appears to be concentrated on projects intended to attract foreign tourists with little thought being given to the long range effects of the over-all programme. Economic activities supportive of the tourist trade are given priority over other projects that may have a more direct beneficial effect on the Filipinos themselves. There is currently a building boom for the housing, dining and entertainment of foreign tourists but a scarcity of financing for low-cost living units. The former are definitely too expensive for the Filipinos themselves (with the exception of the very rich) and therefore a predictable consequence will be the creation of foreign enclaves the luxury of which can only arouse envy and anger.

The desire to entice the foreign tourist has already subtly changed the orientation of stores and entertainment places. Folk customs and dances are revised (jazzed up might be a more accurate term) to whet tourist interest, and folk festivals are even invented as tourist come-ons. These developments might be regarded by the less perceptive as signs of a healthy cultural revival because so many communities seem to be bent on resurrecting their own indigenous versions of the mardi-gras. But in the frenzied competition for instant tourist meccas, the nation may well be losing rather than reacquiring its soul. And of course, these touristic activities though they may be promoted in the name of culture are at best only a very minor aspect of

what real cultural development should be. Only when the tourism programme is primarily based on the needs of domestic tourist can the attendant cultural activities become meaningful cultural developments. The immediate and very visible effect of our tourism orientation is to emphasize and deepen the Filipino colonial mentality, the hospitality that borders on servility, and the further Westernization of tastes as even the primitive cultures of our ethnic minorities are used to chase after the almighty dollar.

It is only lately that the Filipinos have from objective necessity started to identify with the Third World. Before this, we had very little empathy with liberation movements. This is due to the fact that our exposure to world events emanated from Western media reports which interpret international developments in the light of American economic and strategic interest. Victims of cultural Westernization, we suffered a crisis of identity as well. The resolution of this crisis can be achieved only with a progressively stronger identification with the Third World from which we can learn valuable lessons in developing a culture of our own as we build an economy which we ourselves control. For by now it is clear that the developing countries will have to unite in order to prevent the further inroads of Western economic and cultural control. A culture based on our needs will only evolve after we liberate our own economy. But liberation of that economy will also be hastened by the development, if only in its initial stages, of a culture that is based on our needs and goals.

What then is the concept of a national culture? It is not the glory of the past where there was little or none. It is not only folklore, it is not only a revival of tradition. Above all it is the summation of the needs of the people, the description of their past and present condition, an expression of their values, thoughts and emotions, the depiction of their historic struggles to liberate themselves. True national culture is inextricably linked to the people's needs, ideas, emotions and practices. National literature, art, music and all other forms of culture must therefore find their source and

inspiration in the people's activities and dedicate their achievements to the people.

It is true that the poverty of the masses is a major cause of their poverty of culture. But this poverty itself breeds its own dynamic as it transforms the feeling of deprivation into a desire to negate the condition itself. This process in turn develops its own forms of expression and action which if crystallized and systematized become the matrix of a people's culture. A real people's culture will constitute the negation of a culture that is merely an appendage of or an emanation from a foreign culture which has obliterated our own because it is the expression of our own obliteration as a nation.

NOTES

- 1 A description of pre-colonial societies in the Philippines may be found in Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, "Relation of the Voyage to the Philippine Islands, 1565," in *The Philippine Islands 1493-1803*, edited and annotated by Emma Blair and James Robertson, Vol. II, p. 203 et seq.; Vol. V, p. 39 et seq.; Robert Fox, "Prehistoric Foundations in Filipino Culture and Society" in *Readings in Philippine Culture and Social Life* edited by Amparo Lardizabal and Felicitas Leojardo, Quezon City, 1970, pp. 35-36; see also George H. Weightman, "The Philippine Intellectual Elite in the Post-Independence Period," *Solidarity* (January, 1970), p. 25.
- 2 Renato Constantino, *Identity and Consciousness: The Philippine Experience*, Malaya Books, Quezon City, 1974, pp. 3-4.
- 3 See for example, Edward P. Dozier, *Mountain Arbiters*, The University of Arizona Press, Tuscon, Arizona, 1966.
- 4 Renato Constantino, "Culture and National Identity" in *Dissent and Counter Consciousness*, Malaya Books, Quezon City, 1970, pp. 41-47.
- 5 Renato Constantino, *A Past Revisited*, Tala Publishing Services, Quezon City, 1975, p. 73.
- 6 *Ibid.*, p. 74.
- 7 Constantino, *Identity...*, pp. 4-10; see also Bienvenido Lumbera, "Florante and Laura and the Formalization of Tradition in Tagalog Poetry," *Philippine Studies* (October, 1967); "Tagalog Poetry During the Seventeenth Century," *Ibid.*, (January, 1968); "Assimilation and Synthesis: Tagalog Poetry in the Eighteenth Century," *Ibid.*, (October, 1968); "Consolidation of Tradition in Nineteenth Century Poetry," *Ibid.*, (July, 1969); T.H. Pardo de Tavera, "The Heritage of Ignorance," *Thinking For Ourselves*, edited by Vicente Hilario and Eliseo Quirino, Manila, 1928, pp. 1-17.
- 8 Constantino, *A Past Revisited*, Chapters 8 and 9.
- 9 *Ibid.*
- 10 *Ibid.*, Chapter 10.
- 11 *Ibid.*, Chapter 7.
- 12 *Ibid.*, p. 141.

Prospects of Development

- 13 Constantino, "The Miseducation of the Filipino" in *The Filipinos in the Philippines*, Malaya Books, Quezon City, 1966, pp. 39-65.
- 14 *Ibid.*; see also Constantino, "Origin of a Myth" in *Dissent and Counter-Consciousness*, Malaya Books, Quezon City, 1970, pp. 62-91.
- 15 Constantino, "Scenario for Survival," *Graphic*, September 17, 1969, pp. 14-18.
- 16 *Ibid.*

GLOBAL ENTERPRISES AND THE TRANSFER OF TECHNOLOGY*

While this paper does not presume to add anything new to the theoretical discussions on the transfer of technology, it offers some contributions to the pool of information of Third World countries regarding the activities of multinationals in the area of technology transfer. Because of the predisposition of economic thinking and policy towards the multinationals as factors of economic development, there has been very little critical analysis of the practices of these global enterprises in the Philippines. It is only lately that some local articulation on the subject has been attempted. Studies have barely begun. The dearth of literature and the understandable reticence of those employed in multinational corporations to reveal their experiences and critical opinions has been partly responsible for the slow public reaction to the issue. It is typical of thought in a country like the Philippines that has been subjected to colonial techniques of obfuscation and distortion for four centuries that the critical faculty has been stunted especially as regards such subjects as foreign investment and "aid."¹

I

As a result of the escalating demands of Third World countries for a more equitable economic order, the developed countries have found themselves compelled to respond with offers to participate in the forging of a "new world order." No doubt such offers are intended to mitigate the mounting

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protests of the Third World by giving the appearance of reasonable concern. The sincerity of these responses is however open to suspicion, for in varying degrees the Western proposals are based on certain assumptions which preclude real and lasting solutions to the major problems of developing countries. In the main, the premises do not lend themselves to the basic resolution of the problems of poverty and economic backwardness.

NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

The UN at its sixth special session passed a resolution entitled *Declaration on the Establishment of the New International Economic Order*. This Declaration clearly notes:

Technological progress has also been made in all spheres of economic activities in the last three decades, thus providing a solid potential for improving the well-being of all peoples. However, the remaining vestiges of alien and colonial domination, foreign occupation, racial discrimination, apartheid and neo-colonialism in all its forms continue to be among the greatest obstacles to the full emancipation and progress of the developing countries and all the peoples involved. The benefits of technological progress are not shared equitably by all members of the international community.²

This is a forthright statement as far as it goes. It identifies the real culprits of the centuries-old crimes against the peoples of the Third World. "Alien and colonial domination, foreign occupation, racial discrimination, apartheid, and neo-colonialism in all its forms" deny the Third World their rightful share in the benefits of technological progress and thus continue to be responsible for the poverty of millions. In the Philippines, however, all these forces are widely regarded as emanating only from governments and since the Philippines is now independent, it is presumed by many that such forces as operated in the past have ceased to do so.

Multinationals would not be considered—except by a

majority of perceptive Filipinos—as part and parcel of neo-colonialism because, being multinationals, they are presumably not under the wing of any powerful government. Yet the recent revelations of U.S. involvement in Chile, to mention only one example, clearly show that when multinationals feel that their economic privileges are threatened, they can count on their government to intervene in their behalf, whether overtly or covertly. Moreover, the Filipino people as a whole were never sufficiently aware of the tie-up between the policies imposed by the United States (pre and post-independence) and the interests of American corporations. In fact, so deep are the roots of colonial consciousness that even today, were such tie-ups to be exposed, there would still be many who would think that what is good for the Americans and their corporations is good for Filipinos too.

NEW DIVISION OF LABOUR

But precisely, the problem of transfer of technology cannot be discussed apart from the deleterious attempts of global enterprises to effect a new international division of labour, utilizing the cheap labour of Third World countries to enhance their competitiveness among themselves. In turn, any discussion of this new division of labour cannot ignore the fact that the institutionalized procedures of international aid are in fact based on the needs of giant international business rather than on the real requirements of the aid recipients. It goes without saying that these private enterprises cannot operate outside the framework of profitable control, not only of resources but also of technology. The effect of these overriding considerations is that the combined forces of global corporations, international financial institutions, and the governments of the advanced countries through their trade, aid, and political policies are working together to direct and limit the development of Third World economies to low-cost, labour-intensive processing and light industries and small-scale production while retain-

ing the monopoly of high technology industries for the advanced countries where the centres of the giant enterprises are located.

Whereas in the past the big businesses of the advanced countries found it most profitable to import raw materials from and export finished products to undeveloped countries (and consequently, the policies of their governments were designed to keep their colonies and economic dependencies agricultural), global enterprises now find it more profitable to relocate their light, labour-intensive industries in underdeveloped countries where they can take advantage of cheap manpower to produce low-cost manufactured products. The process neatly illustrates the credo of the multinationals which is to produce cheaply in the Third World such products as they can market at a high price in developed countries.³

Of course, the ideologues of the multinationals would want us to believe that this new development is a boon to the Third World countries and a natural and mutually beneficial situation. They talk glowingly of the great potential for prosperity that developing countries have if they would only concentrate on the export of the products of unskilled labour-intensive and technologically standardized industries instead of straining their resources to set up their own industrial complexes. It would be more practical, they counsel, to leave high-skill and technologically advanced industries to the already highly industrialized nations.⁴ What this beguiling give-and-take proposal conceals is that it really is a scheme for a new world-wide division of labour as exploitative of the Third World as the old division when colonies were kept strictly as sources of cheap raw materials.

DECEPTIVE INDUSTRIALIZATION

It would appear that the multinationals are now promoting industrialization in the developing nations. Knowing that industrialization has been the road to higher

living standards in the technologically advanced nations, citizens of developing countries would generally welcome the establishment of subsidiaries of global enterprises, thinking that this is a step forward in their own national progress. And in fact, additional jobs are created, exports are expanded and the indicators of growth are enhanced. One of the most attractive aspects of this development is the hope of the people of the Third World of acquiring the technology of the advanced countries which they see as the key to progress and prosperity and eventually to an independent economy.

They are of course deceived. The results are exactly the opposite. In countries where foreign giant enterprises have been able to gain enough economic control to influence the policies of the host government with the aid of world financial and banking institutions, we see a type of development which denies that country any possibility of establishing its own industrial complex. Its economy becomes a mere appendage of the global giants, the whole country a workshop with an unlimited supply of cheap labour. Thus, instead of economic independence, there is dependence on a new level. Instead of economic development which will benefit the people, there results a distorted development not responsive to the people's needs but profitable to the global enterprises.⁵ Instead of using its own resources for its own people, such a country is drained of its natural riches in exchange for a pittance in the form of temporarily higher employment levels and the chimera of technological know-how. For precisely, to assure the perpetuation of the captured country's dependence which is the basis for their own profits, the global enterprises will impart only such technology as suits their purposes.

Basic to control of technological progress is the proprietary concept of patents, processes and inventions.⁶ In an atmosphere of competition, private owners of processes and designs have been impelled to take advantage of the cheap labour of the Third World countries in order to undercut other enterprises. In most cases, only that type of

technology is transferred which benefits the owner of the process. The countries to which the technology is transferred are confined to light and medium industries producing consumer goods for other markets. Many restrictions are imposed such as stipulations which enable the technology supplier to control and intervene in the management of the buyer's enterprise, restrictions on research and technological development by the buyer, requirements that the technology buyer obtain equipment, tool parts or raw materials exclusively from specified sources, prohibitions on the export of goods to certain markets, prohibitions on the use of supplementary technology by the buyer, limitations on production, etc.⁷

COMPLEMENTATION SCHEMES

A clear example of how jealously multinationals guard their own technological superiority may be seen in the complementation schemes which they are currently promoting in various developing countries. The setting up of enterprises with incomplete production cycles in each country effectively retains for a giant enterprise control of the technology as a complete entity. It is a god who farms out the fashioning of legs, arms, bodies and heads to his creatures so that no one can ever aspire to take his place because only he knows how to make an entire man and each one's expertise, however, great, is useless without that of the others. For as long as he can keep his minions from joining forces, his throne is secure.

Complementation has other advantages. For one, by spreading out operations in a number of countries, the multinational reduces the risks attendant to a possible political crisis in any one of them. For another, by spreading out its presence in this manner it maximizes its opportunities for other investments as well as the marketing of its various other products.⁸ Of course, such a presence (which also means developing reliable contacts within the officialdom of the host country) is always imperative within the

context of the fierce competition among these giant enterprises.

The Asian Car Complementation Programme is a prime example.⁹ Widely publicized as a great step forward in the technological progress of the country, it also raised with its advance propaganda the hopes for low-cost "Asian" cars of thousands of Filipinos educated in the ways of Western consumerism. Several observations are worth making on this on-going project. Since only a part of the manufacturing cycle is performed in each country, any transfer of technology that is effected has very limited significance, if any. No single country can make the whole car; therefore, each country remains dependent on the multinational which can easily pull out from one country and move to another a particular part of the cycle if its demands and conditions for profitable production are not met. It is of course in the realm of possibility for all the countries concerned to pool their acquired technological knowhow, but such a concerted decision could only be the result of basic political changes occurring at the same time. It is certain that such an eventuality is being constantly guarded against and would be frustrated by the powers that back up these global giants who have their own men in high government echelons.

And what is the quality of this limited technology that is transferred? In Ford's Philippine operations, the components manufactured here consist of "wheel rims, brake shoes, tie rods and interior assemblies."¹⁰ In the case of cars completely assembled in the country, while there is incentive to put in local components because they are much lower priced, on the whole, the basic parts come from the manufacturers themselves.¹¹

Companies participating in this car complementation scheme like other firms that would put up plants in the Free Trade Zone are granted many incentives: "tax exemption privileges, such as tax credit on domestic capital equipment, tax exemption on imported capital equipment and exemption from local taxation; privilege of having priority to Central Bank dollar allocations for imports; and financial

assistance in the construction of factory buildings." In addition, rental rates for land in the Free Trade Zone are attractively low.¹²

A look at a few figures on Ford's operations alone will show who the real gainers are in programmes such as these that are purported to be solutions to the technological and financial needs of developing countries. Ford Philippines, Inc., established only in 1967, is now 37th in the roster of 1,000 biggest corporations in the Philippines. In 1971, "it reported a return of equity of 121.32 per cent" whereas its overall return on equity in 133 countries in the same year was only 11.8 per cent. Aside from all the incentives extracted from the government, Ford's high profits were mainly due to cheap labour. While the U.S. hourly rate for skilled labour in 1971 was almost \$7.50, the rate for similar work in the Philippines was only \$0.30. Moreover, the promised low cost of the Asian cars (which did not turn out to be that low after all) were premised on the absence of safety and anti-pollution devices.¹³

TECHNOLOGICAL SUBORDINATION

Another bad result of a situation where an economy is controlled or at least largely directed by foreign enterprises is that it becomes a market for obsolete equipment or second-hand machinery which the renovating global companies no longer have any use for. Technological subordination also makes it possible for these multinationals to influence the economic and socio-political pattern of the dependent country and to develop in its people consumer fads and fashions and life-style expectations wholly inconsistent with their present resources and inimical to their wholesome development but beneficial to global enterprises because such patterns create popular demand for non-essential imports which create stresses in the country's financial position driving it further into the clutches of international banking and finance institutions to complete the stranglehold on the nation.

Quite a number of Third World countries currently believe that technology is the answer to their problems. They believe that once they have acquired the technology they can make a breakthrough. But this is a delusion. The peoples of the Third World must be made aware of the fact that the profit motive makes multinationals and capitalist states refuse to share technology unless on their own terms and for their own interests. Such imported technology may adversely effect the national interest in the long run, no matter what its apparent short term benefits may be.

II

As I said at the outset, studies on the specific subject of transfer of technology have hardly begun. However, a recent survey, while not directly studying the question, contains a few revelations which may be of some use as examples of what is happening in the Philippines. This study was conducted by two members of the Sociology Department of the University of the Philippines. Its immediate concern was to survey organizational and inter-personal situations in mixed companies. The companies surveyed were seventeen in number but only ten responded. The survey contains certain statements of Philippine technicians interviewed regarding relations with their counterparts, and these give some insights into the techniques of foreign partners.¹⁴

Of the corporations surveyed, seven are Filipino with foreign tie-ups and three are wholly owned by the parent company. These industries range from electronic organs, televisions and radios, motorcycles, synthetic fibres, textiles, soaps and detergents and cooking oil, cigars and cigarettes, plastic products, refrigerators and air conditioners, and sewing machines. The field itself demonstrates the consumer accent of what is called industrialization in the country and the type of market that has been established.

DEDUCTION FROM SURVEY

In the case of one industry, the Filipino managers are of the opinion that certain local materials produced by local companies could be used without any diminution in the quality of the finished product. The foreign counterpart requires that only material of "good quality" coming from his country should be used and this component is very expensive. The foreign technician insists that he can not be sure of the quality of any material other than that imported from his homeland.¹⁵ From this, one may conclude that the local partner is not even allowed to test local material and neither is the foreign partner willing to do so himself. What is vital is that the component be imported. Local producers of the material are therefore faced with extinction.

In another interview, an engineer involved complained of the attitude of foreign technicians who seem to be holding back information. He also adverted to the haughty attitude of foreign technicians who gave the impression that Filipinos were not capable of developing. He said that if the foreigners keep on insisting on imported materials although the Filipinos believe they can produce adequate import substitutes, Filipino technicians will "never start being on their own, being self-reliant." He compared the Filipino technician to a "race horse—he can run faster but someone is holding him back."¹⁶

Another interviewee remarked that his company cannot enter into another relationship without the consent and approval of the foreign partner. Neither can it go into the development of a new product unless it is a product of the foreign partner. The same interviewee complained of the second-hand machines and old model equipment supplied them by their foreign partner. The supplies they get from abroad, he alleged, break down in six months although they cost very much. The models they get are at least two years old.¹⁷ This illustrates the market for obsolete and second-hand equipment that the developed nations are establishing in the underdeveloped nations.

Another respondent stated that his company is not interested in developing technology. It just buys imported parts.¹⁸ Such a situation stunts indigenous technological growth. Many Filipino technicians have proven their own resourcefulness time and time again, the proliferation of applications for patents is indicative of this. But the insistence on imported spare parts has undercut Filipino initiative and ruined many a small repair shop owner. Where local knowhow used to be applied, now technicians have degenerated into mere workers trained to replace parts which are imported. Very often, these parts come in kits thus making replacements doubly expensive.

The control of patent rights discourages local inventiveness. Local businesses are not only deprived of access to technological innovations but indigenous skills eventually atrophy since these skills can only be accumulated and refined through experience and involvement in the solution of manufacturing problems.

In another case, a technician complained of complete systems being brought over by the foreign partner. His prediction is that eighty percent of them would fail. He believes that Filipino technicians should modify these systems to suit local conditions.¹⁹

These illustrations, the few that have come out from multinationals, are revealing. There should be more basic material but there is understandable reluctance on the part of those employed in these companies to speak their minds openly. The examples chosen would have been clearer and more telling had it been possible to name the companies concerned, but anonymity had to be guaranteed for obvious reasons.

OTHER PITFALLS

Apart from these interviews, one cannot dismiss the visible impact of consumer industries on the country. A big market for these goods has been created, leading to the dissipation of resources for non-essentials while neglecting the

basic industrial development of the country. As I pointed out earlier, the proliferation of these industries has created a style of living disproportionate to the level of the economy. Because these multinationals are present in practically every facet of life, they are able to control to an important degree the socio-cultural dimensions of society. Economic thinking and even policies have been permeated with their peculiar ideology. The bias of some economic thinkers and policy makers is a reflection of the inroads they have made.²⁰

In certain cases, local firms which by using local know-how had been adequately supplying the market and would eventually have met the demand in full, now run the risk of being driven out of business by the entrance of a foreign giant in the field. In one such case, an American company was allowed to enter a field, despite protests of local manufacturers, because its plant was supposed to be geared to export production. However, it was allowed to sell locally up to thirty percent of its production. But now the extent of this firm's local advertising efforts indicates that this thirty percent of production is quite large, if indeed the company keeps strictly to its quota. This thirty percent perhaps now surpasses what local cottage industries can produce. Superior technology and local preference for foreign brands—a characteristic of colonial consciousness—have undercut local efforts in an area of such little importance that Filipinos would not have suffered even inconvenience had Filipino enterprise been allowed to develop and improve at its own pace. This is certainly an example of an indiscriminate import of technology which arises from general technological dependence.

The question of pollution is beginning to be a sore spot. In a number of areas in the Philippines, Filipinos are already seeing the effects of this new threat to their environment. Water sources, marine life and agricultural production are suffering from this by-product of technology. One example should suffice to highlight this particular danger posed by technological dependence on foreign business giants. The Kawasaki Steel Corporation of Japan is one of the world's

largest in its field. Its iron ore sinter plant is such a severe pollutant that it could not set up its new plant in Japan because of the vehement objections of the Japanese themselves. Kawasaki is now preparing its new site in Misamis Oriental, a province in Mindanao. The company's reply to a court suit filed against it by citizens of Chiba protesting its pollution of their environment contains this chilling admission:

Although a sintering plant is an indispensable part of a steel plant, it also produces more air-polluting materials than any other part of the plant. Therefore, we at Kawatetsu have decided to build the new sintering plant which is needed for the No. 6 blast furnace in a foreign country instead of within Chiba plant even though this involves overcoming many difficulties connected with loading, unloading and transporting by developing technology to prevent pulverization of sintered ore. This decision, the first of its kind in the country, will enable us to drastically reduce the amount of discharge of polluted materials. The new sintering plant is now under construction in Mindanao the Philippines, as part of Japan's economic aid to that country.²¹

From this and other similar developments, it appears that multinationals have found that exporting their pollution-producing plants is a welcome solution to relieve the tension caused in their homeland by escalating protests against pollution.

III

More and more nations of the Third World are awakening to the fact that technology is an important factor in the solution of their problems of poverty and backwardness. But any imported technology must first of all serve the national interest. A General Assembly resolution declares that

the application of science and technology in the interests of the economic and social progress of the less developed

countries cannot produce the best results unless it forms part of a coherent programme of development in the economic, industrial, social and cultural fields. . .²²

In October, 1975, the Philippine Secretary of Industry, Vicente J. Paterno, declared that the government would "exert every effort to compel foreign companies operating in the country to strictly comply with the development programmes and goals of the Philippines."²³ In a checklist which he suggested that the rich nations follow, he appealed that they "Make available industrial technology and knowhow under more equitable terms and conditions. . ."²⁴

OPTIONS FOR THE THIRD WORLD

Unfortunately, neither resolutions, declarations nor appeals will have any effect because the present situation wherein technology is not being made available under "equitable terms and conditions" with the result that the Third World is unable to free itself from technological dependence not to use technological advances for the best interests of its own people—this situation is inherent in the capitalist system of which global enterprises are the logical development in the modern era. One hope of the nations of the Third World is to find an effective way of countering the economic power of the advanced nations and the global giants with the power of their unity and cooperation in the control of their natural resources. Two simultaneous thrusts are needed here: first, that of forging this unity (difficult in itself because of ideological and other differences and made more difficult by the divisive manoeuvres of advanced nations) and second, that of instituting in each country policies which will diminish rather than increase technological dependence and foreign economic and financial control. These two thrusts are interrelated and should reinforce one another, but to achieve both, one factor is essential and that is the politicization of the people, their correct grasp of the meaning and ultimate effects of the

growing international division of labour through the imposition of global enterprises and advanced nations of economic and financial control and technological subordination.

MULTINATIONALS—A MISNOMER

In the Philippines, as I see it, this task requires the dissemination of information on several interrelated points. Perhaps other Third World countries may find these points relevant to their particular situation, perhaps not. First, though the word multinational correctly describes the global operations of giant companies, in a great majority of cases the multinationals are not so either in ownership or management. In fact, the most powerful of these so-called multinationals are American. According to a UN study, of 211 global firms whose 1971 sale exceeded \$1 billion, 127 were American, and only 18 were from West Germany, 16 from Japan, 15 from the U.K. and 13 from France. It is clear that the Americans are the principal possessors of the technology the Third World needs. The principal U.S. multinationals are not multinational even in management. Out of 1,029 executives of these U.S. global giants, a recent survey found that there were only nineteen foreign citizens.²⁵

In the Philippines, particularly, it is important to tear away the neutral mask of multinationalism and reveal just how many of these global economic giants are really U.S. corporations. This will make it easier for Filipinos to see that these corporations have not only their own economic power but that U.S. government policies reflect their demands on the Third World countries. While it may be true that "the international corporation has no country to whom it owes loyalty than any other"²⁶—their loyalty being profit alone—the U.S. government is loyal to them because to a great extent than is realized, it is their creature, as witness the number of high corporate executives temporarily taking high and critical government positions.

A corollary point is the need for the people to realize the degree to which international financial institutions are controlled and directed by the United States and that the great global banks expanding into the Third World are mainly U.S. banks. Before Third World countries can co-ordinate anti-imperialist policies, their people must be made aware of such evolving techniques to consolidate economic subordination as free trade zones, complementation programmes, "aid", the incursions of foreign banks into the local banking system, joint ventures, etc.

UNITED ACTION, THE ONLY COUNTERFORCE

On the particular question of the holding back of technology by foreign enterprises, a few examples of which were mentioned in this paper, such experiences should be compiled and widely disseminated. Instead of their being regarded as particular or isolated phenomena, dissemination will not only alert others but will bring home the truth that this is a general situation. And we must go beyond this; we must prove that the denial to the developing countries of the basic aspects of technological advance, and indeed the denial to them of the opportunity to develop an indigenous technological base, is inevitable and inherent within the neo-colonial framework. Therefore, only a counterforce arising from united action by the Third World, perhaps in the form of a declaration of determination to deny those of its resources that are vital to these global enterprises and advanced countries, can secure that more equitable sharing of technology that the Third World asks for. And only the push of an awakened population in each country can insure that the governments of Third World countries, particularly those still in the hands of the elite (who are too often co-opted by imperialist forces), will be willing to evolve in conjunction with one another such policies as are necessary to force better "terms." A good example of the strength of an awakened people is the drive against pollution in Japan. Unfortunately for some Third

World countries, the gains made by the Japanese people have forced some dispersal of pollution-creating industrial plants to their territories.

United action by Third World countries will be facilitated by awareness on the part of the people that dependence is not a one-way street. In the Philippines, at least, we need to remove from the minds of our people the idea implanted by the American colonizers of our dependence on them. We must push for a greater realization of *their* dependence on *our* resources and take advantage of this fact to redress past depredations. As Nelson Rockefeller admitted in 1951: ... 73 percent of our needs for strategic and critical materials come from the underdeveloped areas. Thus we find that our domestic economic strength today depends to an important degree on the underdeveloped areas.²⁷

EXCHANGE OF EXPERIENCES

Countries of the Third World must create the necessary machinery to exchange information on technology already available in their areas. They must also exchange information on what is being done in their countries to reduce technological dependence or to secure a more equitable transfer of technology. The Law enacted by the Mexican Congress "Concerning Registration of the Transfer of Technology and the Use of Working of Patents, Trade names and Trademarks" is worth studying.²⁸ The Mexican example may be a good starting point if all other countries could join in this demonstration of awareness. This may add to the bargaining power of governments vis-a-vis multinationals and may perhaps serve as an instrument in awakening even local partners to demand more technical knowhow and remove restrictions which impede industrial growth.

While some technology is so advanced that it would not be practical for developing countries to wait until they can develop something similar for themselves, other knowhow is already available within each country or is being developed by our own scientists. The latter need more

encouragement and more government attention in developing and using their inventions. Too often, however, licensing agreements and contracts laden with restrictions and prohibitions imposed by foreign firms prevent us from producing our own needs even when the technology to do so is already within our capabilities. In this connection, I believe it would be very important for Third World countries to consider ways of sharing their own technological advances among themselves. While recognizing the limitations posed by geographical differences as well as differences in levels of technical development, it would still be safe to assume that technology developed in some of these Third World countries would be more appropriate to others in the same group than the technology of advanced countries. In addition, if this type of technology sharing were to be conducted on a government to government basis, the exploitative nature of most present transfers of technology would be eliminated or at least greatly minimized.

Perhaps it would also be instructive if Third World countries which have received technology transfer from socialist states could share their experiences for purposes of comparison. On the other hand, socialist countries, especially those that consider themselves as being among the developing nations, should be more active in sharing their technological breakthroughs and experiences in developing their own technology appropriate to their needs.

The question of the transfer of technology is interrelated with many other problems of the Third World. This problem cannot be solved in isolation from other problems, nor by each country acting alone, and especially not without political awareness and militant action by the peoples of the Third World. Concerted and coherent programmes are vital. Cooperation among Third World countries, perhaps starting only with demands for more equitable sharing of technology, will inevitably progress to embrace people's demands for the pooling of resources and for the coordination of policies against their continued economic subordination to global corporations and to the imperialist states that support the

exploitation of the Third World by these economic giants.

NOTES

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- 4 Gerald M. Meier, "New Possibilities for Foreign Enterprises," *Modern Government*, June-July, 1971, pp. 29-32.
- 5 United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, *The Acquisition of Technology From Multinational Corporations By Developing Countries*, Doc. ST/ESA/12, p. 1.
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- 7 UNCTAD, *Report of the Intergovernmental Group on Transfer of Technology*, 13th Session, 21 August-11 September, 1973, Doc. TD/B/424.
- 8 The Corporate Information Centre of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA (CIC Report), November 1973, p. 53.
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- 14 R.S. David and K.C. David, "Problems of Mixed Management in Ten Philippine Based Corporations," Manila, (MS).
- 15 *Ibid.*, p. 7.
- 16 *Ibid.*, p. 31.
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- 18 *Ibid.*, p. 65.
- 19 *Ibid.*, p. 195.
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- 22 Decisions of the General Assembly, United Nations, 1967, Resolution 2318 (XXII).
- 23 *Bulletin Today*, October 10, 1975.
- 24 *Ibid.*
- 25 Joyce Kolko, *America and the Crisis of World Capitalism*, Boston, Beacon Press, 1974, p. 31.
- 26 Quoted in Selden, *op. cit.*, p. 19.
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DEVELOPMENT IN THE CONTEXT OF PHILIPPINE HISTORY*

I was happy to accept the invitation extended by your society to keynote your seminar because I found your seminar theme, "Toward a Philippine Model of Social Development," and the particular subject suggested for my address, "Philosophy of Social Development in the Context of Philippine History," both intriguing and challenging. In his letter of invitation, your president stated that one of the objectives of your seminar is "to examine existing social development programmes sponsored by both government and non-governmental agencies and organizations" with a view to evolving "a model of development for the Philippines."

For better or for worse, many years of my life have been devoted to a re-examination of aspects of Philippine society and history. Implicit in my work was the objective of arousing the critical faculties of Filipinos so that they would question rather than accept, think for themselves rather than acquiesce to the dictates of others, and actively work to achieve a decolonized, free and egalitarian society. In short, I have sought to do my bit to get Filipinos to think as Filipinos and to act for the best interests of the majority of their countrymen. Your seminar subject, therefore, struck a responsive chord.

The search for a Philippine model of social development implies a laudable desire not to copy, therefore an awareness of the dangers of copying foreign experiences and institutions. This is a good beginning. That you propose to

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evolve your concepts of social development within the context of Philippine history implies an equally praiseworthy realization that the society you are working on is a product of historical forces; therefore, only those who have a correct grasp of the historical roots of our social condition can play a meaningful role in insuring the correct direction of social development by our people.

I must remind you, however, that the concept of models is itself an idea much in vogue in the West and I am therefore a bit wary of its implications. I would like to advert to two possible misimpressions. The first is the erroneous belief that it is possible to construct an ideal model of social development. Such an idea could very quickly be transformed—in minds used to thinking in terms of absolutes—into some kind of abstract ideal Philippine society which is the static goal to which we must all aspire. Society is, as you know, always in a state of flux and we can speak only in terms of forces and general directions since the specifics are subject to a thousand-and-one factors, internal and external, economic and political—also in a state of flux.

The second possible misimpression is that it is within our province, as the more educated sectors of society, to devise and project the correct model of development for the people to follow. I think that in trying to help our people, we must always be conscious of the fact that in the final analysis, they must—and they will—play the decisive role, not we. This is not to say, however, that we cannot play a useful role in synthesizing and articulating some of their goals. But the value of our assistance will depend not only on the sincerity of our motives but also on our understanding of the direction towards which society should change for the best interests of the mass of our population. And an indispensable source for the acquisition of such wisdom is a correct understanding of the history of our people.

It is in the context of the foregoing that I wish to offer, not a philosophy of social development but only a discussion of approaches to the subject—what I regard as the

fundamental background for the tentative formulation of any project for social action or development.

We must start with the concept of development itself. Development is a multi-faceted goal which encompasses the economic, political, social and cultural fields in their intimate interrelation, but with the economic as the primary factor. Development means change, not change of a superficial nature but fundamental change which would transform social structures, thereby enabling men to attain a qualitatively better life. Development does not mean merely more of the same—more roads, more modern buildings, or even higher agricultural yields. Development is not only quantitative but also qualitative. It is not only absolute but also relative. If our concept of development were merely quantitative, we would be like a man on a treadmill who is moving but does not move, depletes his energies but gets nowhere.

Real development cannot be measured in terms of the conventional indicators of national growth such as gross national product but in terms of real income distribution and the disposition of surplus, or more specifically, in terms of higher living standards, social security, and access to the best in education and culture for all men—in short, a more human and humane society for all.

In our case as in the case of all the Third World countries, development must mean a leap from a condition of backwardness, or, what in more contemporary and precise terms is called underdevelopment. Therefore, it is imperative that we understand the phenomenon of underdevelopment. The prevailing notion is that the backwardness of nations of the Third World is merely a stage in an evolutionary spiral which will eventually allow them to attain the status of developed nations. This is an un-historical and therefore unrealistic view for it assumes that these countries are developing when, actually, they are underdeveloping.

Earlier, I said that development must not be only absolute but also relative. Even if in absolute terms we have

more material goods now than five years ago, if in relation to the development of the advanced nations the gap between them and us has widened, then we are not developing but underdeveloping. And in fact it is quite possible that the status of backwardness of a given country may become not only relative but also absolute—that is, as the advanced nations deplete this country's natural resources, the mass of its people may become not only worse off in relation to the more rapidly-increasing wealth of the advanced nations but even absolutely so; that is, poorer, more miserable than they used to be.

The phenomenon of underdevelopment in the Third World cannot be understood unless it is viewed as a historical product; it is the other side of the history of the advanced countries. Where we have development on one side, we see underdevelopment on the other. For these are two sides of the same coin; they are inextricably connected. The poverty of the Third World has resulted in the wealth of the advanced nations. The wealth of the advanced nations has been made possible by the impoverishment of the backward nations. It is therefore not surprising that this cause-and-effect relationship has been carefully buried under the avalanche of development concepts and literature that the advanced nations have been propagating. We ourselves must never forget it. Clearly, before we can plan for real development, not the illusion of it, we must first try to know the origins of and the reasons for our backwardness, and these can be found in our history.

In today's conference, the subject of social development cannot therefore be adequately discussed unless it is viewed as one of the facets of the multi-valued goal of development. We cannot have guideposts merely for social development without first determining the patterns of economic development and the political structures that are primarily shaped by economic forces. Your concern with social development will only meet with frustration if you confine yourselves to this aspect without understanding the other aspects of development. You must always be aware of the inter-

relations of phenomena and the necessity of viewing man's interests as multifaceted. Over-concern with one aspect may lead to distortions of the others or in most cases to a sterile systematization of bodies of thought having no relationship with other bodies of thought. Each would present a fragmented and therefore unreal view of the total problem. This is what is happening today in many academic disciplines.

The total view can only be arrived at by bearing in mind that theory and policy if they are to have any value, cannot just be conjured from mid-air. They cannot be the products of thinking without any relation to reality. They cannot be abstractions developed in a vacuum ready to be applied to concrete situations. Rather, they must be abstractions culled from reality and refined in social practice. And an important source of practice is our history. For history is not merely a compendium of events or a who's who list of heroes. It should also delineate the economic, political, and cultural forces of colonialism that have had such a strong impact in the shaping of Philippine society and the Filipino consciousness. At the same time, history should also reveal to us the people's reactions to these external forces. History is above all a record of our anti-colonial responses. Colonialism should be recognized as a central fact of our national life.

A study of history will show that the people have always been in struggle for a better life and have always resisted colonial domination whenever they recognized it. These struggles have taken various forms and demonstrated periods of escalation and periods of ebb of consciousness. History should not only chronicle these reactions but give us explanations for them, why were our people proudly militant at times, submissive and confined at other times, which classes fought oppression, which compromised and why—so that we may better understand our people today. For history must do more than describe a dead past—it must help us to understand the roots of present phenomena so that we may be able to project with some degree of

theoretical correctness the goals of the future.

In history we learn of the causes of our underdevelopment. We see the colonial condition as the main source of our economic backwardness. And this condition was not abolished with independence; it was merely transformed. We see the economic structure as the basis for an iniquitous political system in which economic privilege becomes the pillar of political power—a power that enhances colonial control and further entrenches the hold of the local elite over the people.

Without going into details, let us take a sweeping view of the historical forces that shaped the configurations of our economic life. The backwardness of the people who lived in subsistence economies at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards was transformed into a new form of backwardness when their subsistence economy was forced to produce surpluses to support an invading army and to maintain the Church establishment. When we consider that before the Spanish occupation the people had just enough to sustain life, we realize how much hardship the tributes and other levies exacted by the Spaniards must have caused. They were now worse off than before. Hunger and even famine began to be felt in many communities and slavery appeared where before only a benign form of debt peonage existed.

Because the Spanish colonists found no gold, they confined their economic activities to the galleon trade and abandoned the provinces to the friars. There was little government effort to improve production techniques, the principal activity of the colonizer being the extraction of tribute and forced labour. The only spur to improve production was the need to produce the surpluses required.

For centuries, the economy was virtually stagnant until the penetration of the trade barriers by the dynamic capitalism of England which with Chinese help encouraged the raising of export crops. Spanish capitalism, now the subsidiary of English capitalism, began to be interested in developing Philippine agriculture. This started the regionalization of our agricultural products. The new impetus of

foreign markets and new inputs of technology from this source greatly improved production. There was progress and even prosperity, but for the people in general, these new developments brought new threats and hardships.

For example, the demand for export crops and the regionalization of production reduced the acreage planted to rice. Farmers who no longer grew their own rice were much more vulnerable to the new exploitative forces. The increased demand for tobacco, sugar and hemp for export gave the ownership of land a new dimension. The dynamic Chinese mestizos who had been engaged in trade, the Spaniards, and the local principalia now bent their efforts toward acquiring more and more land. By means of the pacto de retroventa, by the mere expedient of having untitled lands worked by others titled to their names, by outright landgrabbing, many farmers were dispossessed or found themselves as tenants in the lands they had previously tilled as their own. Thus was born the hacienda system and what is now called feudalism in Philippine agriculture. And thus did progress and prosperity for a few, now including a growing local elite, become only a new form of backwardness and exploitation for the many. At the same time, agriculture for export inaugurated a new bondage: the dependence of our economy on both the metropolitan powers and on the world market, with all the uncertainties and disadvantages this implied.

The coming of the Americans merely froze this condition, for the American colonialists imposed free trade which meant the further growth of a raw materials exporting economy that at the same time became a market for finished American goods. We were in an economic straight-jacket which denied us the freedom to plan our own economic lives for our own benefit. It can be said that eventually we wore this straight-jacket by choice almost as much as it was imposed on us because of widespread miseducation and because of the co-optation of our political leadership and of our economic elite.

Under the Americans, the Filipino elite prospered but

there was also a higher incidence of tenancy and more exploitation of the peasants whose unrest exploded in sporadic violence and manifested itself in the formation of mass organizations in conjunction with urban workers. These organizations exhibited a growing awareness of the linkage between the people's poverty and colonialism, between the country's economic problems and its dependent status. Unfortunately, World War II cut short this significant development, the trauma of Japanese occupation made the old bondage that much more desirable, and when they came at last, the victorious Americans were as gods walking the earth. MacArthur's masterly moves insured the restoration of power of the old elite conduits of American rule, and independence with strings was the reward for our blind loyalty.

Our dependent status did not change. Although it was what the country needed most, we could not industrialize when it was not in the American interest for us to do so. One attempt was made to stem the disastrous drain on our dollar reserves caused by indiscriminate importation by giving the Filipinos a chance to produce such import substitutes as were within their technological capabilities to do so. I refer to the institution of import controls. Unfortunately, import control was vitiated by rampant corruption, and its enemies, the foreign firms affected, seized upon this defect to discredit it and bring pressure to bear to have it rescinded. A conjunction of economic pressure and political manoeuvres produced the desired result and a victorious new president declared his adherence to free enterprise. In our memories, most of us equate import control with corruption and view its demise without regret. Hardly aware of the fact that economic dependence breeds poverty and is at the bottom of our many economic and financial difficulties, most of us saw only the corruption. We failed to see import controls as a protective wall behind which Filipino industries could gain a foothold in our economy without being swamped by foreign competition. So we threw out the baby with the bath water instead of

trying to find ways of minimizing corruption and improving on an essentially good policy.

Of course, when world economic developments made it more advantageous for global corporations to exploit the cheap labour of underdeveloped countries, not to speak of the tax incentives and loopholes, subsidiary industries began to be set up in these areas. To the undiscerning, it looked as if at last the dream of development and progress through industrialization was being realized. I fear that the future will puncture this balloon of illusions. For in addition to the burden of supplying raw materials, we are now suppliers of cheap labour in a new international division of labour.

More and more, these global giants will control the commanding heights of our economy thus enabling them to exert almost irresistible pressures to shape policies in their favour. They will not allow us to attain technological independence. Our work force will be trained to develop only those skills that these economic giants can use and, as we see in the car complementation scheme, it will always be to their interests to distribute the production process of the basic industrial goods among a number of dependent countries so that no single country will have enough know-how to be tempted to slip out of their control.

The prognosis for the people of economically dependent countries is inevitably bleak. Despite temporary gains in terms of employment figures, real prosperity will be an illusion for all but a small elite group tied up with foreign principals as long as the advanced countries control the prices of our export products and as long as we allow a condition to exist in which their investments, instead of adding to our wealth, only deplete our resources including the savings of our people which eventually are remitted as profits. Even granting the achievement of a measure of development, the prevailing direction of underdevelopment will not be reversed.

But these impositions could not have been possible without an intellectual conditioning that caused our people

to accept the colonial condition. We turn again to history to find the source of this phenomenon. We learn from history that the Filipino mind, no less than our material world, was the target of colonial control in order to minimize dissent.

The Spanish friars propagated the virtues of obedience and resignation. For centuries, the literature they allowed was confined to prayers and to the lives of saints, our intercessors in heaven whose example taught us to regard earthly misery as a sign of God's love and a down payment on a seat among the angels—a most useful frame of mind, for the colonizer, that is. It made us dependent on heavenly intercession rather than on our own efforts.

Dissenting thought was prescribed and those who thought independently were persecuted as subversives or filibusteros. This situation bred a deep distrust of knowledge as being somehow a gift from the devil, a distrust which was not wholly dispelled by the Filipinos' subsequent avid pursuit of college degrees. Incidentally, you will be interested to know that this tradition surfaced and was used with great effect against Claro M. Recto and in favour of Ramon Magsaysay. The argument ran thus: Recto was "masyadong marunong"; the country was better off with one who did not know so much and could for this reason understand the common people better.

The Spaniards also infused in us a gigantic inferiority complex. We learned to depreciate ourselves and to look down upon our fellow Asians, who after all were not Christians, at the same time that we looked up to the Spaniards and white people in general as the epitome of superiority. This type of control of the mind was further enhanced by the subtle methods of the Americans who through miseducation, the imposition of English as a medium of instruction, and a massive cultural invasion seriously stunted the growth of our own culture, language, and thought and made us look up to American ideas and values as the metaphysical basis of our existence. Thus we are today a confused people who do not know our identity

and who do not know what we really want.

We are experiencing, therefore, not only economic underdevelopment but cultural and intellectual underdevelopment as well. I need not go into the Western cultural bombardment we are all subjected to; you see and hear it all around you. Neither do I need to explain at length the serious disservice to our intellectual development of the imposition of English as a medium of instruction. The very fact that we are slowly, though still with much opposition from intellectual colonials, adopting Filipino as the preferred language of communication in our schools is proof of our awareness of the errors of the past.

One point should be made regarding cultural and intellectual underdevelopment and it is that this intellectual and cultural lag in turn becomes one more fetter on our economic development because colonial thinking insures that policy and planning will be biased in favour of the colonialists and their privileged local allies.

One more aspect of our colonial history needs to be discussed because it has an important bearing on the kind of society we have developed—I refer to the role of the elite as the surrogates of each colonial power. A colonizer always utilizes a segment of the population to carry out its wishes. This segment is granted economic benefits and status. The Spaniards developed the *principalia* which later merged with the economically prospering Chinese mestizo group to form the Filipino elite. From its ranks emerged the *ilustrados* who though they played a progressive role for a brief period during the Propaganda and the Revolution, were basically motivated by a desire for a better accommodation within the colonial scheme, if they themselves could not rule alone. This same class became the mainstay of American power.

Initially, some of its members were given the privileges of travel and education in American universities to absorb and later to transmit ideas that would justify American hegemony. This class was the local beneficiary of free trade and the American colonial administrators insured that it was

from its safe ranks that the political leaders of the country would emerge. Reflecting their ilustrado upbringing in a hierarchical Spanish society, they believed it to be their right to rule. They did not have confidence in the capabilities of the masses and in fact their behaviour during the Revolution and at Malolos often reflected their fear of mass power. Their attitude was expressed with unconscious arrogance by one of their number when he told the Americans that the Philippines was capable of being independent because it possessed "an entity that knows how to govern, the directing class, and an entity that knows how to obey, the popular masses." With such a background, with their growing economic interests to protect, and with their acceptance of their role as the intermediaries between the colonizer and the colonized, it is not surprising that they developed a political system which gave the people the form of democracy without its substance and granted them rights in theory but allowed this elite to manipulate each situation so as to negate such rights in practice.

I have tried briefly to trace the important forces that have shaped our society and our people's minds and character as well as the major forces that were responsible and continue to be responsible for the poverty and cultural backwardness of our people and which spawn the developmental problems you are wrestling with. I hope I have convinced you that a knowledge of the people's history is indispensable if you want to work effectively among our people to understand their reactions to situations, to help them understand themselves and their condition, to help them to synthesize their real goals. Moreover, a knowledge of our economic reality as it developed historically will help you to perceive the interrelation between colonial dependence and the social problems you wish to solve. Such a knowledge may ease your frustration when development plans that look good on paper ultimately do not work.

Looking back on what we have discussed, I find that instead of formulating a philosophy of social development

I have discussed the outlines of a philosophy of liberation—economic liberation as well as the liberation of Filipino consciousness. This philosophy of liberation must confront the philosophy of domination of the great political powers and their economic tentacles, the global corporations. Economic liberation will surely produce the liberation of consciousness in its advanced stage but it is possible, and indeed necessary, to work for some liberation of consciousness so that the people may act to secure their economic liberation. Only within this context can there be any real social development. I hope that when you analyze ongoing or projected programmes for some aspect of social development you will gauge its merits in terms of its relevance to our national liberation.

But a philosophy of liberation is not a body of thought given once and for all time. It is itself a growing thing depending on accretions of consciousness. It is merely a systematization of goals and action. It is really more of a programme than a philosophy. It is not contemplative, it is active and dynamic and encompasses the objective situation as well as the subjective reaction of the people involved.

It cannot be the work of a select group, even if this group regards itself as motivated by the best interests of the people. It needs the participation of the backbone of the nation. Our history presents us with numerous examples of militant participation of masses of men in struggle but with a limited consciousness of the dimensions of their objectives and of the reality they were striving to change. In our more complex society, where more sophisticated forces operate to keep man in bondage and when on the other hand we find his own integrity and decisiveness undermined by corrupting influences such as those of anti-social individualism and the beguiling temptations of consumerism, we cannot hope for the active participation of large sectors of our population in collective action for their own interests unless they first become conscious of our reality.

If you can believe as I do that meaningful social development is possible only within the context of liberation, then

you will regard educational tasks as a basic aspect of your work. Such tasks will be doubly rewarding in that contact with striving men will add immeasurably to the elevation of your own consciousness. Immersed in such work and given integrity and patriotic purpose, you will develop your own theoretical guideposts.

Let me just say now that the guideposts of a philosophy of liberation must be both historical and critical. Historical in the sense of detecting the continuities as well as the discontinuities of events, the origins and effects of social phenomena, the causes of distortions in our economic and intellectual development. And critical in the sense of subjecting present assumptions to the test of mass needs and mass goals. Such theoretical guideposts must be tested in practice and further refined in the process of practice until they become a compendium of experience as well a growing synthesis of alternatives. As a growing philosophy, it will change its evaluations and its goals in accordance with the changing economic base and the needs of particular historical stages or epochs.

The starting point is of course our reality and a thorough knowledge of this reality can be achieved only by tracing back its various strands in our past.

Let me reiterate in conclusion: if you want social development for our people you can secure it only by helping them to embrace a philosophy of liberation. For the present, the basic goals are still the age-old goals of our people: independence, democracy, and a better life— independence, both economic and political, democracy, which means real participation by the people in the formulation of national policy, and the assurance that the people's voice will be sovereign in the shaping of their destiny, and a better life for all, which can be truly attained only when the first two goals are won.

NATIONALISM AND PARTISAN SCHOLARSHIP*

When officers of the U.P. History Club invited me to address this gathering, they suggested a subject which was so broad it encompassed virtually the entire area covered by my latest book. I was initially reluctant to accept the invitation for I wondered if it had been motivated by a desire on the part of the organizers to secure for their club members a sort of "history without tears"—in other words, a chance to get the substance of the book without having to wade through it. I decided, however, that such a suspicion was unfair to the U.P. studentry whose reputation for scholarship has always been widely accepted—although it is not always deserved. On the other hand, the invitation indicated a residual interest in my work or at least evidence that I am still being read. I therefore decided to renew my association with a segment of U.P. society by discussing with you some ideas regarding Philippine history. For the most part I will be restating some of the main themes of *A Past Revisited*.

I shall endeavour to organize my selective restatements into what may approximate a cohesive lecture, hoping that the diverse themes will motivate some of you to make your own critical studies of history and perhaps rekindle in others the sparks of nationalist conviction. These to my mind are vital components in the pursuit of national identity and in the elevation of a political consciousness so necessary in comprehending our own reality.

*Lecture delivered before the U.P. History Club, September 18, 1975.

"Filipino resistance to colonial oppression is the unifying thread of Philippine history." This is the concluding sentence of the first chapter of my book. I believe it provides the indispensable basis for any nationalist framework for Philippine history. It is this simple statement replete with meaning—that made possible the presentation of a new approach to our history. This approach demonstrates the essential unity between nationalism and a strong consciousness of history.

History has been used to capture our minds, if not by outright forgery and falsification, at least by the subtle distortion of certain events with the result that our conquerors have been transformed into altruistic and self-abnegating partners. This distorted history has been an important factor in the development of our colonial consciousness because of the suppression of certain truths which would have exposed the crass motivations of our colonizers and of those Filipino collaborators who lent their efforts toward making colonization easy to accept.

This colonial consciousness in turn has made it pathetically easy for colonizers to make us Filipinos believe that policies in pursuit of their own selfish designs were really for our own good. Philippine history, therefore, is one area of endeavour in which we must struggle in order to free our minds so that we may at last act in our best interests. It is a struggle which will not be easy considering that, to a greater or lesser extent, we are all captives of colonial scholarship. The nationalist viewpoint is essential to the achievement of such a liberating history; it must constitute the ideological framework to which we must adhere.

Nationalism endows the serious history student with a definite point of view. This point of view immediately alerts him to any form of distortion which would seriously affect any appraisal of basic problems at the same time that it produces misconceptions that merely serve the ends of colonial powers and ruling groups. Colonial scholarship has left not only an imprint but a whole body of thought in all fields of human learning; this has to be revised. The need

of the day is to counteract the influence of colonial ideas and to rectify the myths that have been presented and accepted as reality. The urgent need is to demythologize Philippine history in order to exhume the long-buried truths.

In this task it is essential to correct the misconceptions handed down by clerical scholars who saw the pre-Spanish Filipinos through the prism of their Christian prejudices and categorized our indigenous societies in terms of Western social experience. It is even more important to correct the distortions perpetrated by the Americans who in their desire to represent themselves as altruistic benefactors rather than conquerors minimized if not concealed from succeeding generations of Filipinos the cruelties practised by their army of occupation as well as the fierce resistance of the people. They heightened this distortion by extolling those ilustrados who collaborated with them and denigrating the leaders of the people's resistance by calling them bandits or tulisanes.

Even now, such an everyday matter as the names of our streets gives telling evidence that the colonial viewpoint continues to prevail. Where are the streets honouring the memory of a hero of the resistance like Macario Sakay? But we have a Legarda and a P. Paterno. And Otis is named after the American occupation general who censored the news to conceal from the American people the fact that there was fierce Filipino resistance to American occupation. Of course, everyone knows Taft Avenue, but why honour a man who believed that any talk of independence should be postponed from one hundred to one hundred fifty years because, to his mind, Filipinos were "nothing but grown-up children?" Several generations of Filipinos have been grateful to Taft for declaring the "Philippines for the Filipinos." But as he explained to American businessmen, he had a practical reason for wanting Filipino living standards to rise. If the Filipinos had a little more money, all eight million of them would become consumers of American goods. And that is all that

the slogan meant. Street names in the golden ghettos are equally revealing—Greenhills honours American presidents while the Ayalas of Makati are partial to Spanish conquistadores. In a section of Quezon City, the streets are named after American Universities.

A number of Filipino historians have added their own particular distortions of our past. Inspired by patriotic zeal, some have unduly idealized our pre-Spanish culture and society, while others have uncritically celebrated as heroes every leader who ever fought against the Spaniards—though significantly enough, the accolade of heroism is not as readily bestowed on those who fought the Americans. Then there are the historians who merely present a compendium of historical data. Although they may sincerely believe that their “objectivity” exempts them from charges of distortion, the result of that very objectivity is in fact distortion.

Let us elaborate briefly on these three types of distortion and their consequences. The drive to present an exaggerated view of pre-colonial cultural achievements, while seemingly a patriotic endeavour in aid of our search for cultural identity, may actually be a disservice to our people. We did not have here anything like the great ancient cultures of China, Vietnam, Indonesia, or India. If we accept this fact we will readily understand why colonial consciousness was easier to implant on our people. We did not have the cultural defences, that anchorage in racial achievements, that allowed other Asian peoples to retain their identity and even to view their conquerors with condescension. By concentrating our efforts on building up an illusory past on which to base our identity as a people, we neglect the central aspect of that identity which is to be found in the long history of anti-colonial struggle of our masses. That is the source of the best part of our identity, an identity we can be proud of and build on through contemporary and future efforts in the same direction.

Filipino historians who were animated by a sincere desire to write the history of our country from the Filipino point of view enumerated the many revolts of the Filipinos

against the Spaniards, identifying most of these mass risings by the names of their leaders. They were correct in proudly pointing to these struggles as evidence that the Filipinos did not supinely accept oppression. But beyond enumerating the grievances that spurred such uprisings, they hardly discussed the nature of the societies in revolt nor analyzed the motivations and conduct of the leaders. In presenting men and events uncritically there is always the danger that we may accept as a hero one who may not fully deserve such an honour.

Take the case of Diego Silang who is currently enjoying a sort of renaissance as the early hero of the Ilocanos. Certainly he was the leader of a revolt but one which initially demanded only greater autonomy, not freedom, for Silang saw himself as the defender of the Spanish King and the Catholic Church against the British whose victory, he feared, would result in the loss to the Ilocanos of their Catholic faith. When the Spaniards rebuffed him, he decided to set up an independent government for his province. At this moment he could have developed into a real leader of the people struggling against all oppressors. Unfortunately, fearing that Simon de Anda was planning to march on Ilocos, he quickly shifted his allegiance to the British and asked for their protection, offering in exchange the natural resources of his region for their exploitation. Silang was the prototype of future leaders who would capitalize on the genuine grievances of the people only to betray them as their own individual interests required quick changes of allegiance from one master to another.

As for Gabriela Silang, she is now not only a celebrated heroine of Ilocos but also of the Ayalas of Makati. She has been hailed by at least one historian as the Joan of Arc of the Philippines, probably because like Joan she fought on horseback. True, Gabriela bravely fought the Spaniards, but she fought to avenge the death of her husband who had already sworn allegiance to a new colonial master.

Incidentally, this episode in our history has similarities to our grand struggle in Bataan which was fought not so much

for independence as for the return of one master as against another.

What about the chronicler of history who clings as if for protection to that "objectivity" which has become a fetish among some social scientists? Surely, such a writer would say he could not be guilty of distortion since he presents only facts. But given the weight of colonial historiography in the sources consulted and the added burden of one's own colonial consciousness, a bare recitation of events presented in impeccable chronology would still result in distortion because the writer would, wittingly or unwittingly, be accepting the premises of colonial scholarship.

Let us take just one simple example: the statement, "Benito Legarda was a prominent Manila businessman who was a member of the Spanish Consultative Assembly, occupied high positions in the Revolutionary Government, and was appointed to the Philippine Commission in the early American administration." These are all facts, but if not subjected to a nationalist value judgment by the writer and presented without comment to a reader most probably afflicted with a colonial consciousness, the inescapable conclusion would be that Mr. Legarda was a patriot whose personal qualifications were so outstanding that his services to country and people were regarded as indispensable under whatever dispensation. Is this not a distortion of reality?

Objective facts and developments must be presented within a framework and a point of view, in order to serve a useful end. The vast accumulation of data cannot be absorbed but it can be totalized as an experience showing the interrelation of economic, political and social phenomena. It is only in this way that facts can be absorbed in a meaningful manner.

It is the duty of the nationalist scholar to write history not only from the Filipino point of view but more specifically from the point of view of the Filipino people—the Filipino masses. For his work to be truly meaningful, the nationalist historian must become a partisan in favour of the Filipino people because the battle against colonialism

and imperialism is being waged not only in the political and economic fields but in the field of consciousness as well.

The concept of a partisan scholarship may be difficult for an orthodox academician to accept, but it is essential at this point in time. Its immediate goal is to redress the imbalance contained in colonial historiography.

Just as it would be fatal for the developing nations of the world to accept the western thesis of jettisoning nationalism in favour of internationalism, because our societies are still so fragile that they could easily be absorbed by the more advanced nationalisms, so it is essential that our scholarship be partisan in favour of our own development and protective of our own interests. In so doing we confront the colonial scholars with our own truths. Let me point to an example: Western colonial scholarship has presented us with a fait accompli: the acceptance of our people of American rule. By showing the motivation of the Western scholars in proclaiming some ilustrados as heroes and reducing real people's heroes to the status of bandits, we contrapose two sets of truths. The "truth" of the colonizers who from their point of view must really look at the leaders of revolts as subversives and bandits, and the truth of the people's struggles which shows that these leaders were heroes because they were resisting an invader. Here we see clearly the confrontation between two types of consciousness.

From this example we can also see why the people's struggle against colonialism should be the unifying thread of a nationalist Philippine history, and why such an approach cannot be possible in colonial historiography. In the case of the resistance to American occupation, for the colonialists to admit that such mass actions were valid and that the people's leaders were patriots and not fanatics, charlatans or crooks would be to destroy the carefully built up *raison d'être* for colonial rule—that the Filipino people welcomed the Americans with open arms.

Official history is written by the ruling class in its own image. It is in most cases propagandistic and narcissistic. It arrogates to the leaders of this ruling class all the credit

for the advances of society and, as one may expect, pays scant attention to the participation of the inarticulate—the masses. It is the task of the historian who wants to write a people's history to project the people's role and to evaluate past events and the actions of historical personages in terms of how they affected the people. The myths intended to perpetuate the memory of ruling groups who have deluded themselves into thinking that history can be falsified must be exploded. The people, the inarticulate, must have a chance to have their deeds recorded as they patriotically and heroically participated in the broad struggles that have been glossed over in the past.

This does not mean that history is a matter of version, one as valid as the other and one complementing the other. The version written from the point of view of the holders of power is not only a partial picture, it most likely conceals what is repugnant to these power holders. It is therefore a distortion.

The real objective history is the version written from the vantage point of the people. It is a record of the deeds of masses of people, their experiences and growth, and a judgment on whether certain events were for the benefit of the people or merely for the selfish ends of a transitory few.

The only way a history of the Philippines can be truly Filipino is to write on the basis of the struggles of the Filipino people. For in these struggles, the Filipino emerged. Such a task can be sustained only by a scholarship that is as partisan as it is dedicated. Partisan scholarship is essential at a time when the forces of reaction and imperialism are trying hard to destroy the fruits of our struggles for identity. Partisan scholarship is essential for the writing of a Filipino history which will be a part of our struggle for freedom and identity. Thus a truly Filipino history becomes a weapon of a people who have to learn lessons from the past in order to apply it to the present so that they may act correctly to secure their future. A Filipino history is necessary to bring out the laws particular to our society in order that we may be guided in our efforts to attain a better

society. Such a history thus becomes an integral part of the making of history by the people.

A people's history is one that combats and defends, glorifies and condemns, criticizes and advocates. Only such a history can constitute a living study of a living society which will make the people aware of historical processes and spur historical efforts.

It is worth emphasizing once more that a meaningful discussion of the people's struggles against colonialism must go far beyond a mere reenumeration of these mass actions. Revolts must be presented as accretions of consciousness, as praxis from which the people may derive lessons and on the basis of which theory may be formulated. In my work, I postulated a schema of development and presented the various struggles of our people in dialectical progression—from the instinctual revolts against invaders, to the nativistic revolts participated in by entire communities not as yet markedly stratified, to the revolts led by chiefs who now had individual interests to protect and ambitions to pursue and began to manipulate mass grievances for personal ends, to the emergence of a native elite which preempted leadership of mass movements only to compromise them in exchange for personal accommodations from the colonizers, and so on.

This progression at each stage reflected the changes in our economic life. If only the people had understood the evolving nature of past revolts and had become aware of the significance of elite emergence and the inherent weakness of elite leadership, they might not have been so trusting during the Revolution. This thought should spur patriotic students of history to clarify the lessons of the past so that they may help the people to build up their defences against future betrayals.

The attempt to write a people's history will necessarily expose some truths hitherto hidden or suppressed. It will also discover new people's heroes and topple others from their present pedestals. And it may revise the status and significance of those who will nevertheless continue to

deserve the people's respect.

I don't think there are more than a handful here who remember the Rizal lecture that I delivered in Fort Santiago in 1969. It was received with howls of protest; I had uttered blasphemies against the holy of holies. Two or three in that audience could almost have died of apoplexy; they felt as if I had insulted them personally. Yet, I was not saying that Rizal should not be regarded as a hero, merely that he should not overshadow other heroes because there are heroes more relevant to our times. All I was asking for was that their veneration be tempered with some understanding. I did not deny Rizal's achievements but I did warn that he had become the hero of the *status quo*.

The Americans had been very shrewd in encouraging the growth of a Rizal cult so that from being the object of sincere admiration, Rizal became an idol whose gradualist approach to freedom through education fitted in admirably with American plans for a long period of tutelage in democracy before we could be deemed worthy of independence. As far as the Americans were concerned, Rizal was a safe hero for in a statement from his Fort Santiago cell he strongly repudiated the Revolution in which the people were then already engaged. He died a martyr, yes, but a martyr to Spanish bigotry and stupidity. As you know, when he was arrested he was on his way to Cuba to volunteer to serve in the Spanish army as a doctor. This was undoubtedly a humanitarian impulse but a rather awkward step to take since Spain was fighting to suppress the struggle for freedom of the Cuban people.

I had no intention then of disparaging Rizal's considerable contribution to the development of Philippine nationalism but it was time to reassess his relevance, for certainly there were other heroes whose example was more valuable for a people who still needed to liberate their country and their minds.

If Rizal's position needs only a re-evaluation, what about that of Emilio Aguinaldo? Because he became the leader

of the Revolution, his place in the pantheon of heroes is taken for granted.

Aguinaldo led the force that preempted the revolution. The elimination of Bonifacio assured leadership to the elite. The result was Biak-na-bato, that shameful betrayal of the people's sacrifices that had been preceded by lengthy negotiations, not because Aguinaldo was insisting on basic reforms but because the two parties could not agree on the amount of money Aguinaldo was to receive and on the schedule of payments. Originally, Aguinaldo asked for ₱3,000,000. Schedule of payments and amount finally agreed upon, Aguinaldo promptly issued a pre-departure statement branding as *tulisanes* those who would continue resistance against the Spaniards. Before boarding the ship that was to take him to Hongkong, he himself led in shouting "Vivas" for Spain and "The Philippines, always Spanish!" In 1898, back again in Cavite courtesy of Admiral Dewey, he immediately reassumed power by declaring independence. But this independence which we now celebrate placed the country under the protection of the United States. Declaring to the last his faith in the Americans, he reluctantly took up arms only when Gen. Otis bluntly declared that since the fighting had begun it "must go on to the grim end." After his capture he again issued a statement condemning those who continued to resist and declaring his faith in "the magnanimity of the great American nation."

Emilio Aguinaldo's behaviour in the course of his public life has received little critical analysis and evaluation from historians. I believe this omission has been responsible for the undeservedly high status accorded him. Little noted in the records of our history is the fact that the people on several occasions rendered their judgment on this leader who initiated a tradition of mendicancy and compromise.

Very few know that in 1926 several municipal councils in Aguinaldo's home province of Cavite passed resolutions asking the Senate to stop his pension and instead use the money either for the support of disabled veterans or for

public instruction. In sharp contrast, the assembly of municipal presidents of Marinduque that same year passed a resolution requesting the national government to approve a pension for the family of Andres Bonifacio.

Forgotten, too, is the fact that at a Bonifacio Day celebration in 1926, a labour leader, Primitivo Reyes, received an enthusiastic ovation and cries of "Bravo" when he accused Aguinaldo of posing as a friend of the people when he was in reality an ally of the imperialists.

During the 20's, the revolutionary instincts of our people had not yet been seriously eroded by miseducation. Many of those who had fought in the Revolution and experienced the cruelty of the American conquerors were still alive. They recognized the real face of American imperialism and hated its local collaborators.

On January 23, 1928, Aguinaldo at the head of followers from the Veterans Association went to Malolos to commemorate the founding of the Malolos Republic. Malolos, the town which thirty years before had witnessed the high point of Don Emilio's career with inauguration as President of the Philippine Republic, decided to give him a funereal reception.

Nearly all the houses and stores of the town closed their doors and windows and displayed black flags with big question marks. The church bells rang out the lugubrious *plegaria* while the people in the streets pointedly ignored the veterans' colourful parade. All business activities were suspended, even the buying and selling of food. Placards protesting against the politics of Aguinaldo were posted in different parts of the town. The main streets displayed other placards saying:

"Emilio Aguinaldo, former president of this short-lived Philippine Republic: who shall answer for the death of the two Filipino patriots, Luna and Bonifacio?"

"Long live the Filipino cause, away with those who side with the enemies of our country and our race."

The Malolos incident illustrates the fact that the people eventually learn of the misdeeds of a public man no matter

how he tries to conceal these. It also shows that when a people feel strongly about a cause they can act decisively and with a high degree of unanimity.

Nor was this the last repudiation Aguinaldo suffered. When he ran for President of the Commonwealth in 1935, he lost in all provinces except one, Camarines Sur. And this small victory was only because the popular Wenceslao Vinzon, who was anti-Quezon, carried Aguinaldo in his province.

When the Japanese came, Aguinaldo was one of those who spoke over the Japanese radio urging MacArthur to surrender at once to the Japanese and appealing to the troops in Bataan to give up the fight. In another speech, he asked the Japanese to give the country its independence. Subsequently, it was rumoured that he aspired to the presidency of the puppet republic, but even the Japanese knew that he no longer had any following so he was just used to raise the Filipino flag during the inauguration ceremonies.

When the Americans returned, Aguinaldo returned to their bosom once more. In the middle 50's, during the height of Recto's campaign against American imperialism and when thinking Filipinos were calling for a resurgence of nationalism, Aguinaldo demonstrated how out of step he was with these developments when he ended his book, *A Second Look at America*, with these words:

"From America's work in my country the world at large has also profited. It has rendered colonialism obsolete and substituted international philanthropy as a basis of relationship between advanced and backward countries. Instead of the old evils of imperialism, America offers guidance and assistance."

In Aguinaldo's case we see that no matter how persistent the build-up, how subtly his betrayals are explained away, there is no spontaneous acceptance by the people. This proves that no individual can permanently remain in the roster of revered leaders if there is no correspondence between his acts and the people's aspirations.

Let us examine a similar but more recent case. Ramon Magsaysay, you all know, was sponsored by the American CIA. No less than General Lansdale has confirmed this. There never was a more unabashed American supporter than Magsaysay. After his death there were efforts to elevate him to the status of a hero. No less than the Rockefellers sponsored the foundation and awards given in his name. At the time, the success of propaganda in favour of Magsaysay was so tremendous that it looked as if he would occupy a co-primary niche with Rizal in our national pantheon. That was the temporary triumph of press agentry.

But look what has happened in the course of less than two decades. Magsaysay is not remembered except during the yearly ritual of awards in his memory. What can one say about what he really did for the people? That he jumped over ditches to shake some poor voter's hand? That he was photographed breakfasting with a farmer's family or planting rice or hugging a grinning old woman? And that is how he brought the government to the people? Even his intimates are now embarrassed to quote his pro-American speeches. From his cronies, one hears stories about the "guy". They remember him for his practice shooting of cockroaches in the palace and reminisce about that bizarre incident when he suddenly grabbed an automatic rifle from his security guard and began firing at imaginary Huks in the Visayan seas. His fate will be that of a footnote in history.

In contrast, take his arch foe, Recto, whom everyone condemned in his lifetime for being a dangerous leftist because he dared to articulate ideas that exposed imperialist machinations. Now these ideas are being cited, often without attribution, to justify new developments in foreign policy and relations with the Americans.

I have cited these cases to show that in the end you cannot cheat history. History will not err in its judgment because no matter how you fabricate achievements, glorify events or conceal truths, a true people's history will eventually unmask the fake heroes and the judgment on them will be harsh and severe.

The myths handed down to us by official history are not confined to Filipino leaders and Philippine events. Take the case of Abraham Lincoln, known to all as the great emancipator. The common belief is that he fought the Civil War to free the Negroes from slavery. The truth is not quite so heroic. The Civil War was fought to spread the capitalism of the industrial North to the feudal, protectionist South. In effect, the Civil War was the American bourgeois revolution, the triumph of capitalism in the United States. Lincoln himself resisted signing the Emancipation Proclamation. When the South seceded and the demand of the moment was for emancipation, Lincoln countered with the slogan "Save the Union." He stated his position in these words:

"If I could save the Union without freeing any slave I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that."

Lincoln represented the vacillating and compromising wing of the middle class. He shied away from the historical tasks of the epoch. An emancipation proclamation would have released a tremendous revolutionary force that could have involved masses of people. But he issued the proclamation only two years after the outbreak of the war. Instead of winning valuable allies among the Negroes by liberating and arming them, he vacillated and he even rebuked General Fremont for liberating captured slaves. Eventually, the Lincoln wing adopted revolutionary means but only after pressure from the Negroes themselves and the revolutionary sections of the middle class.

We have dwelt at length on some individuals. I hope it is sufficiently clear that it is not individuals that make history; it is the people who are the makers of history. Therefore, only those individuals whose acts and teachings are in consonance with the aspirations and needs of the people will have a permanent place of honour in history. Our treatment of leaders so far creates the impression that they are the makers of history. This is not so. That is why some leaders

who were glorified in the past have lost their relevance or have been exposed and consigned to the dustbin of history while the role of the people is increasingly being recognized.

But more important than this concern over the status of certain heroes in our history is the need to analyze and expose the workings of American colonialism in the past. This knowledge is even more vital to our people than knowledge of Spanish oppression because the latter belongs to the past while the former continues to be the central fact of present reality. We must pay particular attention to how imperialism shaped our government policies for its own benefit. This will give us practice in recognizing and analyzing new imperialist thrusts. However, a discussion of this subject belongs to another lecture and will involve other fields of study. In this connection, I would like to emphasize the need of history consciousness not just for those specializing in history but for scholars in other fields.

As long as other social sciences overlook the historicity of events and phenomena, as long as they look at their own special fields as isolated from the historical development of Philippine society, they will never be able to evolve a valid approach to Philippine problems. It is essential for them not only to know the history of the country but also to know how their own branch of social science became strongholds of colonial scholarship. Any inter-disciplinary approach will always require a correct grasp of history, otherwise the work of any social scientist would only be distorted and worse, could sever colonial ends.

It is up to the Filipino historians to provide their colleagues in the other social sciences with the correct, nationalist picture of our past. But their duty to clarify the past primarily to the Filipino people. Much needs to be done and many patriotic tasks await those of you who have chosen the field of history. I trust that you will not be content just to pass on what you have been taught. That would be a sterile occupation. I hope that many of you will decide to write history. If you do, your job is not merely to research but to rethink, to revisit the past guided by a

decolonized consciousness.

A real people's history is still in the future. The work of nationalist scholars at the present time is only a step in that direction. I believe a real people's history will be written when the Filipino people actively seize their destiny and courageously shape another exciting period of their history. I hope you will be there to see it, and I hope you will by then be prepared to chronicle and analyze the events with clear perception and patriotic passion.

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INTELLECTUALS AND ACTIVISTS*

in all its aspects to find out how the colonial attitude became a generalized condition. At the same time, our examination must have for its purpose the discovery and development of the means of overcoming this odious condition. This is a process of objectifying a subjective condition, a method of attaining self-awareness with a view

The rigidity of Philippine society results not just from the material causes engendered by colonial relations; it is further systematized by the resultant consciousness produced by colonial culture and education. This consciousness impairs perception and distorts reality. And this incapacity to perceive reality produces a people ignorant of the system under which they live, even as the system itself causes and deepens this ignorance.

A superficial view of this state of affairs casually categorizes the distorted consciousness as "colonial mentality." The term as commonly understood encompasses our subservient attitudes towards the colonial ruler as well as our predisposition towards aping Western ways. Although the term in its ordinary usage does imply a certain opprobrium, one notes a resigned acceptance of it as the natural and inescapable condition of the average Filipino mind. Such a conception of our colonial consciousness serves no useful purpose for it does not inquire deeply into the causes, forms of manifestation, and means of escape from our intellectual captivity. It merely accepts colonial mentality as a product of external historical forces and disregards the necessity of looking inward to examine what forces within ourselves reinforce and deepen this intellectual bondage.

*Graphic, August 20, 1969.

COUNTER-CONSCIOUSNESS

We must study the dynamics of intellectual colonization in all its aspects to find out how the colonial attitude became a generalized condition. At the same time, our examination must have for its purpose the discovery and development of the means of overcoming this odious condition. This is a process of objectifying a subjective condition, a method of attaining self-awareness with a view to achieving a realization of self-imprisonment and consequently a desire to escape. Essentially, though not exclusively, the process is one of intellectualization. The examination of our colonial consciousness and our eventual liberation from its control must be attended by the evolution and dissemination of a counter-consciousness. The thoughts and ideas that impede the proper development of society have to be countered by a system of thought that can guide the process of change. Social change is on today's agenda here and all over the world. It has become both a reality and an imperative.

While it is true that material conditions and the activism necessary to change them will inevitably call forth a counter-consciousness, it is likewise true that the quality of this counter-consciousness will also depend on the level of intellectualization of those who think for and on behalf of the forces of change. Beyond saying that this counter-consciousness will de-colonize the Filipino mind, it is not for us now to delineate its scope or to set down its specific characteristics. But this much we can say: this counter-consciousness will emanate from the matrix of present consciousness, and it must be a response to local conditions and local needs. It is impossible to import a ready-made counter-consciousness and dangerous even to attempt to do so.

If the development of a counter-consciousness has to be, at least partially, the product of intellectualization, the question may be asked: can we rely on our intellectuals for this job? To answer this question we must first define the

qualities of a true intellectual—one who can decisively confront the task of evolving an alternative to our colonial consciousness. Second, we must examine the nature, position, and characteristics of our intellectuals today.

INTELLIGENCE AND INTELLECT

It may be useful at this juncture to examine the difference between the intelligence of the mental worker, the technician, and the intellect of the intellectual. The distinctions made by Professor Richard Hofstadter in his book, *Anti-Intellectualism In American Life*, illustrate how a man of high intelligence may still not be an intellectual:

Intelligence works within the framework of limited but clearly stated goals, and may be quick to shear away questions of thought that do not seem to help in reaching them. Intellect, on the other hand, is the critical, creative, and contemplative side of mind. Whereas intelligence seeks to grasp, manipulate, re-order, adjust, intellect examines, ponders, wonders, theorizes, criticizes, imagines. Intelligence will seize the immediate meaning of a situation and evaluate it. Intellect evaluates evaluations, and looks for the meanings of situations as a whole.

He further categorizes the qualities of the intellect as: "disinterested intelligence, generalizing power, free speculation, fresh observation, creative novelty, radical criticism."

When we consider the nature of the task we want performed—the evolution of a new consciousness—its magnitude in terms of both depth and scope, we readily realize that the power of the finest intellects must be brought to bear upon it.

Since the ultimate goal is the re-structuring of our society, the task of helping to form the counter-consciousness so vital to the achievement of this goal can be entrusted only to those who see our society as a unified and interrelated whole—to those who have a "meaningful and comprehensive interpretation of the world," a definite point of view, and a

definite commitment to basic change. Propelled by the power of their great intellect, unhampered by personal motivations and ambitions, such men have already freed themselves to some extent from intellectual captivity and are thus able to subject the prison from which they are emerging to fresh observation and radical criticism. At the same time, their relative freedom unleashes a creativity capable of evolving new forms of social action and projecting new types of social structures.

THE LIMITED INTELLECTUALS

Unfortunately, if there are any Filipinos who could qualify as real intellectuals they are very, very few. Many of our countrymen take pride in considering themselves as part of the intelligent segment of the population. Some of those who belong to this segment distinguish themselves from the rest by classifying themselves as intellectuals. In point of fact, the best may be called semi-intellectuals, the rest are really intellectual workers or mental technicians. Most academicians are included in this category.

An examination of the nature, position, and characteristics of intellectual workers in this country will reveal that far from being the custodians of a future counter-consciousness, they are now the victims and purveyors of colonial consciousness, the recipients of miseducation who have become our society's miseducators.

Since education in this country is generally a highly profitable enterprise, the acquisition of so-called higher learning entails a lot of expense. With few exceptions, therefore, those who receive what is called an education come from the middle to the upper-income groups. This fact in itself is already an initial advantage for defenders of the *status quo* inasmuch as the family background and the financial position of future intellectual workers give them at least a latent predisposition to favour the present social system with its accompanying consciousness. In addition, middle-class students particularly are as a rule oriented by

family upbringing to view education as an instrument for the gratification of personal ambitions.

The usual goal is higher earning power and eventually, affluence and acceptance in a higher social stratum. No wonder then that education is seen by its purveyors and its recipients as essentially the acquisition of a stock of "marketable skills," as the process of refining and converting talent into a more saleable commodity. These skills and talents will later be offered for sale in the market using the same "public relations" techniques that sell other commodities. The practice of maintaining a public image and of using gimmicks to gain publicity and reputation become major preoccupations. The accompanying degradation and compromises that such manoeuvres entail will have to be swallowed as part of the game.

IMPECCABLE ORTHODOXY OR DILETTANTISM

Since the highest bidders for intellectual skills are the elite and vested groups, Filipino and foreign, an impeccable orthodoxy must be part of the aspiring technician's credentials. Docility, conformity, and Western orientation will be rewarded with good fortune, so the ambitious learn early in life the value of prudence and the importance of "a clean record." In today's world, this means withdrawal from social action, isolation from protest in the people's behalf. This avoidance of involvement will spell the end to any possibility that those who have the potential will ever attain real intellectuality. Tranquilized by affluence or the prospect of it, obsessed with consumption, most of these ambitious "bright young men" (and women) will hardly notice what they have missed. Transformed into adjuncts of the Establishment, at best they are immobilized as far as social protest is concerned; at worst, they become active agents of reaction.

Now elevated to positions of privilege and associated with power, some of these intellectual technicians even harbour the illusion that they are the real powers behind

the scenes—the directing intellectuals of the ruling class. They therefore become active instruments for popular deception and clever defenders of the *status quo*. If they ever experience a twinge of regret for unrealized potential, they can take refuge in dilettantism as a substitute for real intellectualism or indulge in any of the various modern pseudo-cultural forms of decadence as a means of escape.

PURSUIT OF THE IRRELEVANT

This being a colonial society, education is necessarily foreign-oriented. Accordingly, the mental worker is immersed in foreign ideas and developments. Behaving like a true colonial, he is interested in “the latest from abroad” but is relatively uninformed about his own country. Worshipping specialization as a sign of progress, and either unable or afraid to examine his society as a whole, the intellectual worker retreats into compartmentalization. He applies himself to his special field and loses himself in earnest examination of some minor aspect without bothering to relate it to the whole. In fact, he probably does not think that this job of synthetization should be his concern since he has voluntarily delimited his area of competence in the interest of a supposedly deeper study.

This phenomenon, ironically enough, is particularly evident among academicians—the people most called upon to retain a coherent view of the whole. Because of this development, scholarship is often reduced to the irrelevant. We have many experts in various social fields but these experts do not have any commitment to any view of the world. At best these scholars are able to publish a few monographs and books which do not have vital relevance to contemporary problems. Some apply themselves to producing historical calendars of events, others painstakingly provide bibliographic sources or laboriously collect anecdotes. Still others choose to inquire into such innocuous problems as traffic control or hospital procedure. These may have relevance to everyday life but they are

hardly fundamental.

The principal trouble with many of our social scientists is that the process of change is not within their ken; they are interested only in their particular fields and are therefore isolated from the urgent problems that demand solution. They may even believe that service to country requires of them only expertise in and dedication to their limited areas.

RETREAT AND ABDICATION

Compartmentalization is both a retreat and an abdication. It is the result either of lack of courage or lack of ability. There is no attempt here to deny the need for specialization; there is only a plea for the intellectual worker to concern himself first with the more vital problems of society and to strive to see how the whole society is served by his particular specialization.

Because of this compartmentalization of thought, the intellectual technician cannot explain the world from an over-all point of view. He is more concerned with the immediate and the particular and therefore has neglected the total and the long-range. Thus, more and more foreign knowledge and technique are being acquired though less and less of this knowledge and technique can be used in our society. Our process of higher education produces "experts" who become impediments to social change. This inability to become responsive to the totality of local needs is largely the result of foreign-oriented education.

FETISH OF OBJECTIVITY

The desire for non-involvement is nowhere more clearly seen than in the worship of "objectivity." Many of our social scientists claim that their task is to search for and to present data irrespective of political goals. But social science cannot be separated from criticism since to write even dispassionately about social conditions is already criticism.

The study of society necessarily involves judgment. But

many shrink from making judgments, out of fear or from a sense of inadequacy, or because of a typically Western mental conditioning that makes a fetish of "objectivity", and of equating it with truth. The result is that social scientists find themselves reduced to a futile exercise in counting and measuring. Methodology becomes the principal concern and clinical detachment the sole imperative.

In our society today, the presentiment of disaster has become generalized. The outbreak of protest and the often predicted eruption of social revolution have made all strata of the population uneasy and worried. Yet the solutions proffered by our intellectual workers are those that still conform to the demands of respectability within the bounds of the present system. Long acquiescence to the *status quo* has drained them of creativity and courage. It has limited their choices of solution to a few fragmentary proposals. Those who have managed to salvage a little sincerity and social consciousness are bewildered because they feel society has come to a dead-end and they themselves can see no solution. The system has overwhelmed their thinking and their behaviour.

Of course, the most corrupted or the most deluded in the intellectual sector attribute the steady deterioration of our economic life and the crescendo of discontent to subversive machinations. Their principal solution is repression. It is obvious that basic social change has not yet attained the status of a necessity as far as our intellectual workers are concerned.

ANTI-INTELLECTUAL TENDENCIES

The impotence of the intellectuals at solving the problems of our society has evoked two reactions. On the one hand, it has revived an anti-intellectual tendency among our people. Anti-intellectualism has been a sort of minor tradition among us. During the Spanish occupation, intelligent persons who were dubbed *masyadong marunong* were shunned because they were regarded as potential

trouble-makers. It was the experience of the populace that knowledge often brought with it trouble, even tragedy. While those who were capable of abstractions beyond the comprehension of ordinary people were looked up to for erudition, they were at the same time regarded somewhat like freaks.

Today, unorthodox knowledge is still feared as a source of trouble. "Egg-heads" are treated as a special class and the old fear of the learned has even turned to distrust. Two equally ridiculous examples were the reactions to Claro M. Recto and Ramon Magsaysay. For some, Recto's erudition was a drawback; he might not make a good president because he was *masyadong marunong*. As for Magsaysay, his lack of learning was considered an asset! There was the same attempt in the case of Genaro Magsaysay to capitalize on lack of intellectual sophistication as a guarantee that he would be more attuned to the needs of the common people.

This distrust has been further engendered by the intellectual worker's partiality to foreign theories and techniques and his foreign-influenced behaviour and reaction. The Western predisposition of our semi-intellectuals has transformed them into semi-foreigners.

A second reaction to the intellectual workers' ineffectuality is the general attitude of activists, especially the young. Activists feel that by and large intellectual workers are too orthodox, too dependent on the Establishment, too much the spokesmen of the *status quo* to be relied upon or consulted. As things stand, they are not mistaken. The prejudice is of course mutual. The intellectual workers are repelled by the radical nature of activism and the activists have in their impatience given up on the majority of so-called intellectuals.

But it is still possible, especially for those who can still perceive the injustices of society, to break out from their intellectual prison. They should set for themselves the task of liberating their consciousness as a first step. This will be possible only within the context of involvement in the protest movement.

THE ACTIVISTS

The development of a counter-consciousness is an important aspect of the task of activism. In the same manner, therefore, that we examine the nature, position, and characteristics of intellectual workers in our country, we should also evaluate activism.

Activism in this country, for all its rejection of the *status quo* and its commitments to change, bears some of the marks of the colonial society from which it sprang. Committed to combat colonial consciousness, some activists nevertheless exhibit in certain instances survivals of colonial habits. They are vitally interested in foreign developments, read avidly on protest movements elsewhere, and eagerly adopt the techniques and behaviour of their foreign counterparts. There is nothing wrong with studying and being conversant with developments abroad. The experiences of other nations may have relevance to our society. The heroic efforts of other peoples to liberate themselves from colonialism can have both an educational and an inspirational effect. But the principal attention of the activists must be to local reality. They must constantly study this reality, be steeped in it, know the people and their condition. Only then can the protest movement know which of the experiences of other countries are relevant to Philippine society. A thorough understanding of Philippine reality remains the primary basis for the evolution of our own protest ideology and techniques. Activists must pioneer in the study of Filipino experiences so that methods of protest and indeed the protest itself may be securely based on local needs. Without a firm grasp of our own reality, activists run the risk of becoming mere copy-cats, neglecting the duty to be creative and innovative for their own time and society.

LEARNING FROM CONVENTIONAL SOURCES

Some activists may claim—and not without justification—that there is a dearth of local material. Thus, they rely

heavily on foreign literature for intellectual growth and doctrinal orientation. In truth, however, the scarcity of progressive material is not a valid excuse for it is possible to learn even from literature of a different orientation than one's own. If an activist has a basic point of view, he can perceive the true significance of facts, statistics, and events as gathered or related by others. At the same time, contact with the conventional mind contributes to his awareness of the problems and obstacles he faces in his struggle for change.

A corollary to this is the need to come into contact and to dialogue with as wide a sector of the population as possible. But it is wrong for an activist to consider such dialogues only as a means of disseminating his views. That is a form of snobbishness. Rather, the activist should acquire from such contacts an appreciation of the complexities of human motivations and a deeper understanding of colonial consciousness. If he has the correct attitude, the activist will find out he can learn from different sectors of the population just as they can learn from him. If his contacts are wide, he will gain an accurate perception of the still strong hold of colonial consciousness. This will help him to avoid overestimation of the progress of the protest campaign—an ever-present danger when activists are too much in contact with people of like persuasion.

As an advocate of change, the activist must acknowledge that the fight for change must also be internalized. He must transform himself as he tries to transform society. Of course, to a certain extent, actual involvement will effect changes in the individual but a conscious acceptance of the importance of internal transformation in keeping with the ideals he professes will produce better results. The activist must be acutely conscious of his own roots in our colonial, corrupt society. If he does not resolutely try to change himself, he will carry with him the corruption of the old which will hamper him in accomplishing the tasks he has set for himself. Like society, he too, is a battlefield between the old and the new. To win the battle in society he must first win

it within himself.

One other related point should be brought out; it is the need for the activist dedicated to social change to develop a breadth of interests that encompasses much more than the immediate subject of protest—in our case, the politico-economic aspect of colonial society. Whereas in the colonial intellectual a catholicity of tastes may degenerate into a form of dilettantism, in the activist with a coherent view of society, a wide range of interests deepens his grasp of reality in all its interrelatedness.

CREATIVITY AND ROUTINE

In our society, thought and action are viewed as essentially separate and even disparate. This is a basic cause of the lack of creativity of both. These two branches of activity must find in the need to operate the Filipino consciousness a basis for unity. For without a change in this consciousness there will be no theory that can systematize demands and guide the movement for change. We must never overlook the fact that thought is important in the liberation of society for it is in the realm of thought that men "examine their sentiments, rationalize their experience, and find direction for their struggles."

Without intellectual creativity, protest action degenerates into routinary activity. There is the danger that these protests may become a everyday affair, that they will no longer excite the imagination of the people or call forth their support because they are mere activities with the same rituals which seem to have become ends in themselves. This danger will become a reality if there is no guiding body of thought that can transform protest movements from mere achievements of united action to agencies of change. By change we mean not only an alteration of the *status quo*, but also and perhaps primarily a change within the participants themselves.

The success of a protest action such as a demonstration should not be measured in terms of the publicity it earns,

nor in the number of participants it can rally. Its success must lie in the heightened participation of the demonstrators themselves and in the contribution such a protest action can make toward the formation of a consciousness which will become the guiding force in the attainment of popular ends.

CRITICISM AND ACTIVISM

Lately there have been evidences of attempts to redirect protest action away from the basic problems of colonial society and to narrow down its demands to immediate and short-term material needs. The relative popularity of school demonstrations for lower tuition fees and similar other demands demonstrates not only the validity of such demands but more significantly for legitimate protest movements, the need for combining the more immediate objectives of the population with long-range demands. This will assure the participation of those who are relatively unpoliticized, whose level of consciousness should be raised during such participation. At the same time this will prevent the protest movement from falling into the hands of those who want to redirect protest to purely short-term goals so that the *status quo* may remain essentially unchanged. The danger exists because some of these movements are merely fronts for certain professional leaders who have ulterior ends. Other movements are conduits of powerful interests whose intention is to capture and pre-empt the movement for social change.

So that the protest movement may not be misdirected, so that it may retain a clear perception of the basic goals, there must occur here a fusion between intellectualism and activism.

In other countries, protest movements have led to systematic criticism while critics have tested their works in the practice of the protest movement. There can really be no systematic action for change unless criticism is linked to protest and protest leads to refinements of criticism.

Activism without definable fundamental goals and the corresponding theory of society is nothing. And criticism without active protest is an academic exercise without lasting value.

Activists, therefore, have to become critics zealously studying present reality as it evolved from the past so that they may thoroughly understand the society they are trying to change. Academic critics have to make a study of both the present and the past in order to be able to guide activism. Thus, in a way, activists have to be scholars and scholars have to be activists. Scholars can no longer be isolated and activists can no longer be untheoretical. Each must assimilate the virtue of the other in order to become more fruitful, more creative. Only thus can they evolve a theory appropriate to our reality, and action appropriate to theory. But this theory must be based on local reality; local reality must not be made to fit theories learned elsewhere. The former is creative; the latter is imitative and unrealistic.

NEW KNOWLEDGE OF OLD REALITY

We still have a long way to go to know local reality. What is needed is more study free from preconceived premises and prior judgment. The task is difficult because even those who are firmly committed to change will perceive within themselves vestiges of orthodox thinking and values. How much more difficult it is therefore to remove from orthodox minds prevalent misconceptions and prejudices handed down by foreign experts and their local ideologues. But it must be done for we need new knowledge of an old reality; we also need new techniques to change this reality.

Intellectual workers and activists must work together and in working learn from each other and help each other to grow. As intellectual activists and activist intellectuals they will form an effective and dedicated corps of workers for their country's cause. But this does not mean that an intellectual must be a full-time activist. He may no longer have the time for intellectual work and study. Rather, his

activism can take the form principally of intellectual work that is a reflection of his commitment and is dedicated to the fruition of its ideals. However, some actual participation in the activities of the movement for change is indispensable for the intellectual who must test theory in practice and find in experience the basis for intellectual growth. The activist, on the other hand cannot be a fulltime intellectual worker. But a part of his time must be devoted to study. Only thus can intellectual workers and activists succeed in unifying thought and action in their movement and within themselves.

Given the primacy of experience, activism will inevitably develop intellectuals from its ranks. It is the present intellectual workers who run the risk of sterile isolation. It is the intellectuals who will never become whole men until they find the courage to involve themselves in patriotic action. They must see that their larger interests lie in the welfare of the people rather than in serving and justifying an iniquitous system. Therefore, the intellectual workers must cease to be mere brain suppliers for the Establishment. Their talents are needed by the people. Involvement will give them vitality and to their lives, meaning.

ETHICS FOR NATIONALISTS*

The nationalist struggle of our time, like any other historical movement, has had its peaks of activity and its plateaus of inaction, its advances and its setbacks, its different stages of development. From the slow crystallization of its major objectives, it went on to a period of propagandizing for these goals, of actively presenting them to a wider mass of the population by means of articles, speeches, and public forums. Nationalism then moved on to try to redirect the course of recent Philippine history by its advocacy of certain policies or dissent on specific issues. It has used for this purpose, besides the old avenues of reaching people, such new forms of mass action as teach-ins and demonstrations.

In one sense, the nationalist movement has been effective. The term nationalist has become so respectable that even its enemies call themselves nationalists, equating an amorphous feeling of love for country with nationalism and then arguing that therefore all Filipinos are nationalists. The tenets of nationalism in a general sense are instinctively accepted by most Filipinos even when not fully comprehended. But on specific issues, the nationalist movement has found itself impotent to effect changes in national policy. Why this paradox of seemingly widespread public acceptance on the one hand and lack of effective power on the other? Part of the answer may well lie in the quality of the adherence to nationalism of some of its professed advocates.

**Graphic*, March 13, 1968.

TYPES OF NATIONALISTS

Within the nationalist ranks there are those who only pay lip service to the cause; fair weather nationalists, faddists or poseurs. These do more harm than good for they cannot be counted upon and are even a possible source of betrayal. Then there are those whose emotional loyalty is greater than their intellectual comprehension, and others whose comprehension is adequate but who, for one reason or another, do not give the cause their active loyalty. The emotional nationalist, though he means well, weakens the movement, for his uncertain grasp of the issues may sometimes lead him unwittingly to take a basically anti-nationalist position. Those who understand nationalist demands thoroughly but refuse to sacrifice comfort or position are an even greater source of weakness. Their intellectual prowess marks them for leadership, but a lack of backbone, a flaw in character, results in their misleading and even abandoning those who would follow them. Such leaders tend to shrink from struggle and to emphasize accommodation or even limited cooperation in the guise of "fairness, reasonableness, understanding the position of the other side." Reluctant to make personal sacrifices, they may take the view that small accommodations from the *status quo* at the present time are better than nothing and certainly more congenial than continued struggle over the larger, basic issues. Essentially afraid of exacerbating conflicts, they may endeavour to restrain forthright expression of criticism and attempt to "pour oil over troubled waters," rationalizing this with the argument that their position as leaders demands sobriety more than militancy. Ultimately, such leaders disarm themselves and the movement by naively clinging to the hope that those who profit from the *status quo* will gracefully yield their favoured position solely upon appeals to their reason and good nature.

Finally, there are those nationalists whose intellectual position is correct and whose dedication is unswerving. These are the men and women who are endeavouring to

transform a heterogeneous nationalist aggrupation into a strong because cohesive and active movement of protest and dissent. They are beset by difficulties. A major one is the rapid turnover of active adherents, especially among the young, who, initially fired with nationalist zeal spend a few active years in its service then fade away, perhaps still believing, but more and more engrossed with the private business of making a living and of "getting ahead."

NATIONALISM AND SOCIAL CHANGE

As a movement of protest and dissent, the nationalist struggle emphasizes its social content. Its goals are broad and pervasive. It does not limit itself to the solution of one or two specific problems. It does not see its task in terms of a few current issues, important though these may be. It will be content with nothing less than a far-reaching restructuring of our society. Nationalism, if it is not to be a mere fad or an exercise in lip service, must embody a deep conviction in favour of social change. Social change, on the other hand, can only be real if it is buttressed by the nationalist premise. The genuine nationalist, therefore, is an advocate of social change, and the advocate of social change must be a true nationalist. Such social change is a task for generations, hence the need for a lifetime of dedication from as many believers in nationalism as possible. For this the nationalist movement needs a systematic doctrinal base to guide its programme of action and to establish unity in the ranks of those who are seriously committed to redeem the country from foreign bondage and rescue her from social and economic stagnation.

THE CONFLICT OF VALUES

But unity of purpose is not enough for a movement with a great historical mission. Equally important is a body of ethical standards upon which the behaviour of leaders and adherents of the movement must be based. For ethical norms

cannot be separated from an unalloyed commitment to a definite historical purpose. Why is this so? Because a social protest movement immediately contraposes its programme against the *status quo*. Therefore, the values of the advocates of social change must be in opposition to the values of the defenders of the *status quo*. In the ideological field, there are two programmes; in the field of action, there must be two sets of behaviour.

Ethical behaviour must be consistent with commitment; otherwise there will be a contradiction between purpose and practice which may lead to a vitiation of purpose by practice. It is therefore essential that the advocates of change address themselves to the study and formulation of ethical norms and make adherence to these norms part of the struggle for social change. The observance of these norms will heighten the consciousness of the nationalist and will imbue him with a dedication bordering on selflessness. The gap between theory and action will thus be bridged, clarifying purpose in the light of experience and enriching experience with a deeper comprehension of purpose. Practice will commit the nationalist advocates of social change more deeply to nationalist purpose and to the historicity of change.

UNITY OF PURPOSE AND PRACTICE

The comportment of the active workers for social change thus assumes a substantive aspect of the present struggle. The validity of the nationalist thesis and the necessity for social change have been preached with great effectivity, but the problem of sustaining the height of ardour among those who have responded to the call for active dedication lies not only in instilling the correct attitude but also in setting the example of correct practice.

Deficiency in this regard may be a major cause of the present state of disunity in nationalist ranks and the reason for the ephemeral nature of many progressive organizations. For when there is a discrepancy between preaching and practice, the weakness of practice vitiates in the eyes of others

the validity of the preaching. Why? Because the advocate of social change is inevitably viewed as the prototype of the desired society. That is to be expected. He who criticizes today's society and the men it has produced, and projects at the same time a better society which will give rise to better men, is expected to embody in his person something of the virtues of what will be. Consequently, it is his duty to consider his behaviour more carefully than the defenders of the *status quo* do. He must remember that the correctness of his intellectual position is not a guarantee of moral superiority. In fact, the correctness of his intellectual position places a heavier responsibility on a person to adhere to ethical norms worthy of his commitment.

In these days when so much has already been said about the nationalist position, it is easy enough to exhibit adequate comprehension of issues and assume the correct stance on specific problems. But if the nationalist regards nationalism as purely an intellectual exercise divorced from ethical considerations in his day-to-day living, there may eventually be a conflict between his intellectual position and his moral posture, leading inevitably to a revision of his position in order to adapt it to his mode of behaviour. A credibility gap ensues and therefore those who look up to him to lead the way eventually lose spirit, get confused and proceed aimlessly in search of answers to their own questions, thus detracting from the cohesiveness of the group. A great deal of disappointment has been registered by many over the way some opinion-makers who have represented themselves as nationalists and independent thinkers have shown sophistication in the exercise of the refinements of corruption, therefore compromising themselves—and nationalism as well.

MEANINGLESS REBELLIONS

The advocate of change must so comport himself that he attracts others to his cause. Quite often, especially among the young, the intellectual challenge to the *status quo* is

accompanied by certain behaviour patterns that are probably conceived as a concomitant rejection of the hypocritical standards of present society. Such unorthodox behaviour must be examined carefully as to its origins, its motivations, its effect on others and, most important, its relevance to the goals of nationalism. Nationalism is not just a rejection of the *status quo*. It offers a constructive programme, an infinitely better alternative to what is. Nationalist behaviour, therefore, cannot be a mere negation of present behaviour. Nationalist ethics must be an integral part of the whole nationalist point of view. It is necessary to ask if a nationalist is behaving differently for the sake of being different, for the perverse pleasure of shocking others or for calling attention to himself. It is well to remember that there are other rebellions against the *status quo* that are not nationalist in character but merely rebellions against authority of an individualistic nature. Some bizarre forms of behaviour may have their roots in these largely meaningless rebellions; hence, they can not be adopted by the nationalist.

NATIONALISTS—PRODUCTS OF A CORRUPT SOCIETY

These problems of correct ethical norms arise from the fact that advocates of change are themselves products of a corrupt society. It is therefore imperative for those who want to change society to be always conscious of the fact that they themselves are products of the society they want to change. To a lesser or greater extent, they are affected by the values and practices of this society. As a matter of fact, the influence of this corruption is so pervasive that they are often unconscious captives of certain modes of behaviour and of thinking. This in itself presents an aspect of the struggle.

In an effort to escape from this moral and intellectual captivity, the individual has to look for new ethical standards to juxtapose against the standards under which he has been brought up and to whose influence he is continually

exposed. He not only has to eschew the old thinking but also to cast away responses and modes of behaviour that tend to make him a supporter of the corruption he seeks to destroy.

SELF-ANALYSIS—ANTIDOTE TO BIGOTRY

This consciousness of the fact that he himself is not free from corruption would have several salutary effects. It would start him on a study of himself, not as an isolated individual but as one in relation to the programme he has chosen to fight for. Constant self-analysis in relation to certain principles, rather than lead to introspection and pre-occupation with self, would in fact make him more acutely conscious of the larger problems. For the direction of his self-analysis would be toward making of himself a better advocate, a more efficient fighter for his principles. This would be an antidote to individualism and obsession with selfish pursuits which, in one form or another, lead to anti-social ends. This self-analysis must be accompanied by a healthy toleration and, later, a willing acceptance of criticism and advice from friends and fellow advocates in a wholesome involvement of all. This would result in the strengthening of the movement by the infusion of that dedication so necessary in the pursuit of basic change. For it must be borne in mind that in changing society one has to change oneself. This would obviate the contradiction between society and the individual so characteristic of societies that have fostered an individualism that has worked against the collective whole.

Constant self-analysis and acceptance of advice and criticism from friends will also serve as guarantees against the development of feelings of superiority and bigotry which antagonize people and encourage the growth of other undesirable traits that have been responsible for some divisions in nationalist ranks. Those who are certain of the correctness of their intellectual position naturally may be susceptible to feelings of superiority. It is important to

recognize the danger and guard against its obvious corollary, bigotry. The correct antidote is a stringent self-analysis and openness to friendly and constructive but unsparing criticism.

THE RATIONALIZATION OF PERSONAL GOALS

The corruption of intellectuals and other adherents of social change has led them to apply the set of values they have grown up with to their own struggle for nationalist social change. This in itself is one of the causes for the inherent weaknesses of the movement. This conscious or unconscious application of traditional techniques has led to errors of practice, and even to the distortion of goals. Although there is a clear contraposition of purpose between nationalists and their adversaries, the application of techniques that are the products of this society may transform the nationalist movement into merely one of the contending groups striving for power and privilege within the framework of the very order it seeks to change.

For instance, the nationalist movement has at certain times been used by individuals striving for personal power, recognition and popularity. There is no doubt that among the exponents of change there are individuals who see their personal ambitions forwarded in conjunction with the broad aims of the nationalist struggle. Originally, some were sincerely committed to the idea of change, at the same time feeling that they had to have a place in the sun. They were corrupted by personal ambition. That ambition led them to the rationalization that they had to occupy a prominent place in the present scheme of things so as to be able to contribute more to the cause. Such a development is extremely dangerous. Personal ambition unanalyzed, not subjected to critical dissection by others, can grow to such an extent as to permit the person concerned to rationalize that a given act patently harmful to the movement but gratifying to his personal ambition is in effect done for the sake of the cause.

It has also happened that men, desirous of ascending the economic or political ladder, have pounced upon the valid and popular issues of nationalism the better to project themselves into the limelight. This is likely to occur during the peak periods of the nationalist struggle. Such persons may for a short time be of help to the movement, but unless personal motivations are transformed into collective goals, they will at best be uncertain allies. Nationalists should therefore be wary of placing too much trust in them. There are also those who use nationalism as a posture because they want to mildly shock others with their reputation of *avant-gardeism*. There is no difference between all these individuals and those leaders in the past who posed as advocates of immediate independence in consonance with the wishes of the people but who compromised the struggle for national emancipation in furtherance of personal ambitions. Such behaviour clearly belongs to traditional society where lofty goals are often subordinated to personal ambitions by scheming individuals who have the ability to manipulate intellectual concepts to suit their own ends. This is the prevalent practice of the run-of-the-mill politicians. Certainly, if the nationalist movement allows itself to be led by such men, it will quickly degenerate into just another group contending for the spoils of power in our corrupt society.

NEW GOALS AND CONVENTIONAL TECHNIQUES

Another example of the adoption of nationalists of conventional norms is the propensity of some to equate publicity with success. The Madison Avenue technique of selling people as if they were commodities has been adopted in this country as a necessary accoutrement of success. Thus a leader pays earnest attention to his image, and his public relations men endeavour to see to it that this image achieves maximum exposure. It is not what our politicians are nor what they represent nor what they believe in that is essential but what they can make the public believe. They feel that

they can fool the people with a few sordid tricks. They feel that the more publicity they get, the more successful they are.

This type of thinking is still part of the equipment of some advocates of social change. They, too, believe that publicity for individuals and organizations denotes success. They therefore fall into the same error as the conventional practitioners of power, with the end result that the publicity they get becomes the primary end and the cause they advocate becomes secondary. This in turn degenerates into a desire for mere recognition as such until the movement becomes only an excuse for personal aggrandizement. Sincere dedication to a cause needs no publicity for the individual. His reward is the realization of the dream. For if he is a real believer in the cause, his main concern would be the collective welfare and not self-gratification.

FAITH IN THE PEOPLE

The stamp of the old order is also noticeable in the ranks of the advocates of change when their leaders imitate those of the ruling groups in their attempts to manipulate people for their own ends. When people are thus cynically regarded as pawns in a power play, nothing more can be expected from the alleged exponents of change. It is just the same story all over again. Such leaders feel that the mass should be used as the traditional politicians have been using them. They regard the masses as an inert group that can be moulded in any way one wishes, as something to be owned and directed just as politicians use the masses in their bailiwicks.

But a movement for social change can never succeed without the active participation of the people. The people are what count. Thus, a basic ethical norm concerns the attitude of the leaders toward the people. They must understand the masses, work closely with them, and voice their true aspirations. In working with the people, nationalist leaders must cast aside the old relationship between the leader and the led. Rather, nationalist leaders should always

bear in mind that working with the people is a two-way relationship. The leaders change the people and are also changed by them. But, always, the people are the vital, primary factor in the relationship.

FRIENDSHIP AND ELITISM

The difference between the ethics of the present order and the desired order may easily be seen in the concept of friendship. It is easily noticeable that nationalists are drawn to each other. They immediately become friends because real friendship implies a common commitment. This acts as a very strong cohesive force. There is instant intimacy and affection among like-minded individuals, an intimacy and affection very different from friendship based on business or contractual connections. Among the advocates of social change, there is no material reward for friendly relations. The moment friendship is marred by material considerations, the relations assume the form of friendship under the old order.

This does not mean, however, that those who demonstrate this affliction of the old order should immediately be barred from the movement. Neither should one be quick to ostracize men of good will whose intellectual grasp of reality is still backward. The point is to attract them, to convince them by means of constructive discussion in an atmosphere of friendly understanding, rather than assume the elitist attitude of looking down on anybody who does not share one's views. That would make the nationalist more bigoted than the people he is trying to fight. Moreover, an artificial distinction based on intellectual advancement is thus made which is self-defeating because if one adopts a supercilious attitude towards those who do not understand one's position, how is one going to reach them? Instead of expanding the pioneering group by winning supporters, such an attitude will only transform the movement into an esoteric society which will quickly degenerate into a mutual admiration club.

EXPERIENCE NOT IMPORTABLE

Our colonial mentality has made us copiers. Thus, even among the advocates of change there is a tendency to copy the techniques of successful mass movements in other countries. They feel that what has been done elsewhere can just be transplanted here and will work just as well. This, too, is a form of colonial mentality. Of course, one can learn from the experience of other countries, but this does not mean that their methods can be adopted bodily. That is why an ethical imperative for all nationalists is an assiduous study of their own country. The nationalist should make the study of his country's history, economics and culture his constant concern. He should seek in the past the roots of our present problems and study the present to know what to change in the future and how this can best be done.

ETHICAL AND CULTURAL CONFRONTATION

The nationalist must correctly appraise the cultural needs and trends of the people. There must be a moment to discover new forms of art based on the actual life of the masses, and not on an idealized portrait of rural living. Instead of patronizing the present forms of entertainment, the nationalist should strive to give the people something that meets their own cultural needs based on their own reality. By going to the masses and discovering their real life and aspirations, nationalist artists can find their subjects and can create a true people's art. As it is, so-called Philippine cultural resurgence is nothing more than what is occurring in the city. All the glitter and movement provided by the established media satisfy only the visual and auditory and not the intellectual or even the emotional needs of the people. One need not go back to the past. One only has to know the present, the actual life of the people, so that through the accepted forms of art the artist can depict their actual state, point out what is happening to present society and delineate what can happen. Here is the ethical as well as

the cultural confrontation between nationalism and the *status quo*.

There are many of us who still express ourselves better in a foreign tongue. We should consider it our nationalist duty to remedy this defect of our colonial education. By self-study we can gain mastery of our own language, for it is our most effective means of reaching the people.

AN ATTACHMENT TO THINGS

In the corrupt society that we all belong to, the varied forms of individual consumption have led many to strive for the satisfaction of certain wants that are really unessential to wholesome living. And yet, so susceptible are we to these gratifications that we devote a great deal of our time and resources to their pursuit. This has led many to succumb to certain forms of bribery in order to obtain these material pleasures. There may be rationalizations on the part of the bribed, but just the same, corruption has set in and this will lead to further rationalizations, though the corrupted individual may not admit, even to himself, that he has already been bought. A few so-called nationalists, however, frankly admit their corruption in private. They are candid about their purposes, cynically plying their trade while trying to walk the tightrope, balancing themselves between their private intellectual prostitution and their public posture of nationalist integrity. Whether the corrupted nationalist embraces corruption unconsciously or by conscious choice, the cause suffers from neglect, from distortion, and finally from betrayal.

In his private life, therefore, the nationalist must not only consciously minimise but redirect his consumption. He must deliberately wean himself away from an over-attachment to things. Such creature comforts and luxuries as he may allow himself should be clearly understood by him for what they are—amenities of life which are not yet within the reach of the masses. Therefore, he must not allow luxuries to become transformed into necessities in the

realm of personal consumption. They must clearly be categorized in his mind as frills which should be willingly sacrificed to principle. As a matter of fact, austere living should be regarded as a virtue. He must also try as much as possible to direct consumption to things Philippine. All this not only ensures a healthy attitude but also becomes part of the struggle against colonialism, inasmuch as the consumption habits of Filipinos are a source of profit and strength for the colonialists.

In the matter of his livelihood, the nationalist must choose, as far as he is able, work that does not force him to become a party to the expansion of the foreign stranglehold of our country. Such a limitation on his choice of livelihood may well mean financial sacrifice, considering that rich foreign firms or rich Filipino fronts of foreign principals may offer much better pay. The adoption of an austere style of living mentioned earlier will then stand the nationalist in good stead as it will minimise the pressure on him to accept a higher paying job at the sacrifice of his principles.

A WORD ON SCHOLARSHIPS

Nationalist students should consider for their choice of specialization those fields which would be of greatest help in the fight they are waging and which would be most needed in the changed society they are working for. Perhaps a word on foreign scholarships is apropos. Most talented young people nowadays consider graduate work in a foreign university (usually American) an integral part of their education. In fact, especially for an academic career, a foreign degree has become well-nigh indispensable. Yet the value of such scholarships to our country is surely debatable. If the scholarship is to an American university, expectation of such a scholarship may act as an inhibitory factor in the expression of nationalist sentiments. Thus the fear of losing a scholarship opportunity may lead to a form of self-censorship, for it is understandable that the donor of the

scholarship would choose recipients only from those most likely to accept the Western point of view, and certainly not those hostile to it. For it is a well-known fact that the general motivation behind extensive scholarship grants is that of developing a corps of sympathetic intellectuals who will ensure in their countries a "safe climate" for the donor's purposes. It is not surprising therefore that scholarships to American universities are granted in great number in countries where Americans have large investments. For this reason, scholarships should be regarded with great caution. And if ever such scholarships are accepted, the recipients must understand the motivation behind them so that they may guard against becoming disoriented. Otherwise, they may come back less equipped to help their country than when they left, or worse, transformed into unconscious or even conscious defenders of the *status quo*.

THINKING AND LIVING AS NATIONALISTS

In the course of his advocacy of social change, a nationalist may become the victim of an injustice. For example, he may be deprived of a civil right. This should be expected, since the suppressive power of authority is naturally directed against the dissenter. Such an eventuality should be considered by the nationalist as an opportunity to fight for a principle. He should resist the shrewd attempts of authority to reduce the dimensions of oppression to the purely personal. He should reject any offered solution unless it clearly upholds a principle applicable to all similar cases of oppression. For if he accepts a solution for himself as an individual, he would only be blunting one more point of confrontation with the *status quo* and personally missing a golden opportunity to act on his beliefs, to live as a nationalist. What a nationalist advocates, he advocates as a right for all.

Hitherto, the drive of the nationalist movement has been to propagate the ideals of nationalism so that Filipinos would think as nationalists. Perhaps it is already time to

start a new drive so that Filipinos may not only think as nationalists but also live as nationalists. Those who aspire to lead should start with themselves. They should re-examine their behaviour so that they may achieve unity between the conduct of their lives and the ideals that animate them. Unity between goals and ethics is essential. What personal conduct is inconsistent with commitment, conduct must be carefully examined and resolutely transformed. If nationalists can truly live their nationalism and inspire many others to do so, we may at last hope for lifelong, active adherents to the nationalist cause working together cohesively, effectively, selflessly, for those social changes which we believe should be instituted in this country.

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